



Perceptions on LAOS: history, basis, and strengthens for developments

Langsith THANASOUK¹

Abstract: The huge of our world, from the first civilization was existed in many parts of our blue planet, and two civilizations arose in Asia, Laos is a little-known hinterland of the world, where in between Indus and Yellow Rivers civilization, the ancestors of Lao people who lives in vary locations, also in mainland extended to southern of China, those of them lives together as a tribe, then developed to the big communities, sometimes met wars of invasions from neighboring powers, migrated and moved to resettled near the Mekong River Valleys, until near the end of Khmer civilization, Lao people in ancient time has built the ancient kingdom for ruled themselves, protected, and developed up to the present-day.

Therefore, the purpose of my research was to explore the radical of beginning, background, and existing on Laos state since ancient time up to the present. The research operation was conducted by reviews, scrutiny, and comparison rationally to various data from other sources which related on Laos since existed, declined, and developments of Laos (inclusively), but focal point interests is the Heroic King's Administration, governments' polity, characteristics, and model of public administration system, structure of governments, Ministry, Organizations, Authority, Agency, Central organizations, (and some local authorities), which was used (applied for) into the practice or implementation, and also paralleled relatively with neighboring countries.

This paper divides into 3 chapters after introduction, begins with Laos in general; history of Laos in brief; during turmoil; kingdom of Laos; civil war; Laos after revolution; Laos in present-day; and conclusion.

Keywords: Aiy-Lao, Ailao, Lao, 哀牢, ອ້າຍລາວ, ເມືອງລາວ, ປະເທດລາວ, Tai, Thai, ไทย, Tai-Lao, Dai, Zhuang, Nung, Tay, Tho, Assam, Ahom, Khmer Empire, Hmong, Shan, Siam, Thailand, Proto-Tai, Tai language, Lao-Tai Family, Mone-Khmer Family, Tibeto-Burman Family, Hmong-Mien Family, Al-Tai mountains, Lord Xinuluo, ສະເດັດ ພຣະເຈົ້າສິນໂລ, King Khun Borom, Piluoge, พระเจ้าพื้ดอโก๊ะ, ພຣະເຈົ້າຂຸນບຣົມ ຣາຊາທິຣາຊ, 皮羅閣, 피라각, Laws of King Khun Bôrom, Testament of Khun Borom, Legends of Khun Bolom, Government, Ministry, Organizations, Agency, Aiy-Lao Noblemen, ethnic groups in Laos,

¹Langsith THANASOUK is a student of the Global Master of Public Administration (GMPA) within the Master's Degree Program in Global Public Administration, conducted by the Graduate School of Public Administration (GSPA), Seoul National University (<http://snu.ac.kr/>). He research interests include history, background, and developments of Southeast Asia, particularly to evolutions about Laos for developments in the future; (langsith@gmail.com); 23 August 2011 서울대학교 01086846007 © All rights reserved by Author, GMPA, Graduate School of Public Administration, Seoul National University, Republic of Korea.

Kingdom of NanChao, Nanzhao, ອານາຈັກໜອງແສ, อาณาจักรน่านเจ้า, อาณาจักรหนองแส; 南詔, 대리국, 𑖀𑖄𑖟𑖅, Khun Lo, Kolofeng, 𑖀𑖄𑖟𑖅, Laos State, Principalities, Yunnan, Dali, Dahor, Guangxi, Sichuan, Kiw Loung Kiang, River of 9 Nagas, Bai-lān, Bāi-Lan or ‘palm leaves’, Müang Lung City, Pah City, Ngiao, Nakhorn Peh-Ngai, Thaen, Sipsong Banna, Sipsong Chu-Tai, Điện Biên Phủ; Đèo Văn Tri, Law of Khun Bolom, Law of Lao Lān Xāng Mandala, Hid 12 Khong 14 (hid sip-song khong sip-sii), Constitutions and Laws of Laos, Great King Chao Fa Ngum, Heroic kings Lao, ພຣະເຈົ້າຟ້າງຸ່ມມະຫາຣາຊ, 瀾滄王國, พระเจ้าฟ้าร่ม, King Fā Ngum’s Administration, Coronation of King, Courtiers ‘ເສນາອາມາດ’, Ministers or Department Secretaries, Staffs ‘ຂ້າຣາຊະບໍຣິໂພານ ແລະ ຂ້າຣາຊະການ’, King Visounrarath (King Vixun ‘ພຣະເຈົ້າວິຊຸນນະຣາຊ’), Thep MongKhoum Sitthi Thamma Sena, Phra Maha Thep Luang Somdej Phra Sangkharaja (Patriarch ‘ພຣະສັງຄະຣາຊ’), Khongbeng (Zhuge Liang 諸葛亮ຫຼີງເບັງ), Chinese invasion, Đại Việt invasion, Burmese invasion, Siamese sacked LanXang and burnt ViengChan, During turmoils, Kingdoms of Ancient Laos, Lān Xāng, Lane Xang, ອານາຈັກລ້ານຊ້າງ, สัตตตะบะละທຸດ, Land of Million Elephants, Royaume du Million d’Éléphants et du Parasol Blanc, शिसत्तनखनहुत्, 南掌, Mekong River Civilizations, Annals of Laos, Chronicles of Laos, ພົງສາວະດານລາວໂຍນົກ, ພົນ ວຽງ, ຕຳນານຊຸນບູຣົມ, History of Laos, ປະຫວັດສາດລາວ, Kings of Lan Xang, Kings of Laos, Lao Monarchs, Nang Maha-Thevi, Sawa City, Müang Xua, Meaung Xieng-Thong, XiangDong-XiangThong, King Xaya-Setthathirath, Setthathirath, ພຣະເຈົ້າໄຊຍະເຊດຖາທິຣາຊ, King Sourigna Vongsa, King Anouvong, 昭阿努, Lao Valuable Property, Emerald Buddha, Prabang, ກົດມົນທຽນ ບານ, Chao Anouvong, เจ้าอนุวงศ์, ເຈົ້າອະນຸວົງ, San Leup Phasun, San Leup Borsoun, Extinguishing the Brilliance of the Sun, 12 October 1945, 19 July 1949, King Sisavangvong, King Sri Savang Vatthana, Maha Oupahat, Maha Ouparaja ມະຫາອຸປະຣາຊ’ or Prime Minister ‘ອັກມະຫາເສນາບໍດີ, ນາຍົກຣັດຖະມົນຕີ, Crow Prince, Princes, Princess, Kingdom of Laos, ພຣະຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວ, Royal Government of Laos, Chao Müangs, Chief of Districts, ເຈົ້າເມືອງ, ເຈົ້ານະຄອນ, Lao-Isaan, Khorāth plateau, Annamite Chain, Auguste Jean-Marie Pavie, Chao Phetsarath, Chao Souvannaphouma, Chao Souphanouvong, ເຈົ້າເພັດສະຣາຊ, ເຈົ້າສຸວັນນະພູມມາ, ເຈົ້າສຸພານຸວົງ, Premiers of RGL, Phaya Khammao, Prince Kindavong, Prince Souvannrath, Prince Boun Oum Na Champasak, Phoui Sananikone, Prince Savang Vatthana, Katay Don Sasorith, Sounthone Pathammvong, Kou Abhay, Kou Aphay, Prince Somsanith Vongkotrattana, Quinim Pholsena, Lao Government, Lao Coalition Governments, ມະຫາ ສິລາ ວິຣະວົງສ໌, Maha Sila Viravong, Coup d’état 9 August 1960, Kong Le, Lao Issara, Pathet Lao, Lao People’s Revolutionary Party, Presidents of Laos, Kaison Phomvihane, Kaysone Phomvihane, ປະທານປະເທດ, ໄກສອນ ພົມວິຫານ, ນາຍົກລັດຖະມົນຕີ, Nouhak Phoumsavanh, Khamtai Siphandone, Sisavath Keobounphanh, Bounnhang Vorachit, Bouasone Bouphavanh, Thongsing Thammavong, Neo Lao Hak Sat, Lao Front for National Construction, 2 December 1975, Government of Lao PDR, National Political Consultative Committee, Supreme People’s Assembly, Lao National Assembly, Ancient Lao Language, Inscription Stone (ໃບເສມາ), ພາສາລາວ, Lao Local Administration, Provinces in Laos, Luang Prabang, Champasak, Vientiane, Lao ethnic groups, ຊົນເຜົ່າ, MDGs in Laos, GDP in Laos, GDP growth Rates, GDP per Capita, Geneva Agreement, Geneva Accords, Geneva Treaties, Indochina, French Indochina, Lao army, U.S, Kennedy administration, UXO, plain of jars, Wars and Civil Wars in Laos, Hồ Chí Minh trail, Lao Refugees, Lao People’s Revolutionary Party, Party Resolutions, Revolutions, LPRP Resolutions, Secretary-General, Chairman, Economy in Laos, New Economic Policy, New Economic Mechanism, New Economic Mechanism Formalizes Reforms, Lao territory, Five-Years Plans, NSED, Developments in Laos, Breakthroughs in Laos; Relieving of people’s mind from old stereotype, Human Resource Management, Public Management Mechanisms, Poverty reduction, KoumBaan (Villages movement), 3 shifts, 3 builds, Sam Sang

Directive, National Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy, NGPES and MDGs, Socio-economic Development Plans, Government Priority Policy, Prime Minister's Guidance, Rule-of-Law, Targets 2020 Laos, Culture, Society, Religions in Laos, Buddhism in Laos, Animish or spirit cults in Laos, Chritianity in Laos, Islam in Laos, Bahá'í Faith in Laos, Poverty, Challenges, barriers of Laos, etc.

Introduction

LAos has long-history since ancient time, traces its history of neighboring countries (China, Burma or Myanmar, Thailand, Cambodia, and Vietnam), there is no doubt or no surprises to academic opinion differs about the origin of the various tribes. Anyway, Laos was once of the ancient state, rulers by Laotians, since before Anno Domini, when Aiy-Lao (Lao), Tai, etc. started migrated to explored the new territory, avoids invasion, and begin the new life with a sophisticated heritage which descendant from their ancestors which was pass many generations. After migrated from the north to the present-day location of Laos, they settled in the valleys, lowlands, and near rivers to lives with the aborigine's people.

The new comers acquire sufficient unity to establish nascent states, communities, and cities for a long time, until 1353 when the King Fa Ngum founded the Kingdom of Lan Xang (existed from the 14th to the 18th century) with full of great success, protects, and develops into powerful of independent monarch until end of 18th century it was split into 3 kingdoms Luang Prabang, Champasak, and Vientiane, and more sore when those kingdoms was annexed to the feudalism nearby, and under darkness more than 2 centuries (240 years) of decline, the multi-ethnic Lao people have difficulties, kills during the wars, arduous struggles as slavery labors, and many people have to refuges apart from the motherland to another places, fled to another countries; cities, buildings, valuable properties of nation was sacked, stolen, deconstructed, and abandoned.

However, the all multi-ethnic groups of Lao people have tries to protect their beloved land, carried out of sacrifices until they manage to crush the yokes of domination of foreign feudalisms and oppression of the colonialism, and consequent liberated completely in 1975, with sovereignty, and Lao people have together been implementing developing the two strategic tasks of defending and building the country up to the present-day.

Chapter I

Laos in Generals

I. Background

Laos (the officially name is Lao People's Democratic Republic "Lao P.D.R" was established in 1975 as a sovereign state), the area of land is about 236.800 square kilometers, it is a landlocked country in the Southeast Asia, which share borders with 5 countries as below:

- China (People's Republic of China) to the North, about 505 Km;
- Vietnam (Socialist Republic of Vietnam) to the East, about 2.065 Km;
- Cambodia (Kingdom of Cambodia) to the South, about 435 Km;
- Thailand (Kingdom of Thailand) to the West, about 1.835 Km; [and]
- Myanmar [or] Burma (Republic of the Union of Myanmar) to the Northwest, about 235 Km.



(Figure 1) Map of LAOS

The Lao People's Democratic Republic (*ສາທາລະນະລັດ ປະຊາທິປະໄຕ ປະຊາຊົນລາວ* in Lao, reads: 'Sathalanalat-Paxathipatai-Paxaxon Lao') or written in the short named as Laos. The name "Lao" has odyssey in history more than 3500 years back (Aiy-Lao "ເຜົ່າອ້າຍລາວ").

After migrated from the originated territory moved down from the North to the Southern of China since before Christian era to the new millenniums for constructed the new territories in search of an autonomous history, especially in the middle of 14th century, Lao had established the **Lan Xang Kingdom (or LaneXang, LânXâng, or Lân Xāng Kingdom “ຣາຊະອານາຈັກລ້ານຊ້າງ” ຫຼື ສີສັດຕະນາຄະຫຸດ²)** also means the Land of Million Elephants (Royaume du Million d'Éléphants et du Parasol Blanc)³ where is located of Laos in the present, within tropics area between latitudes 14 and 23 degrees and longitudes 100 and 108 degrees east (in figure 1). The country stretches 1.700 km from north to South, with an east-west width of over 500 km at its widest and only 140 km at the narrowest point.

Two main physical features, rivers and mountains, cover 70 percent of the country. Laos has Tropical Monsoon with 2 main seasons, such as dry season (starts from October-April), and Rainy Season (starts from May-September) in usually.

The highest peak mountain is Phu Bia, 2818 meters, it is out of these ranges that all the main rivers flow, running from east to west into the Mekong River, and it is along the rivers that one finds the alluvial flood plains suitable for rice paddy fields. There are no other lowland plains of any note. While upland soils are not in general very fertile, there are two important upland plains areas: one in the north in XiengKhuang Province, the rolling grasslands of the Plain of Jars, and the other the Boloven Plateau in Champasak Province in the south, with fertile soil supporting increasing numbers of coffee plantations. Most of the country, however, is rugged and mountainous and covered by monsoon forests that contain a relatively rich wildlife. The whole country lies in a tropical monsoon climatic region⁴.

Laos has 3 quarters distinct regions of which are plain, mountain and plateau.

- The plains region comprises large and small plains along the Mekong River. The largest of these is the Vientiane Plain, on the lower reaches of the Ngum River (NamNgeüam “ນ້ຳງື່ມ”). Also significant are the Savannakhet plain, on the lower reaches of the XeBangFai and XeBangHieng Rivers, and the Champasak plain, which is on the Mekong River, stretching between the Thai and Cambodian borders. Blessed with fertile soil, these plains represent one quarter of the total area and are the "granaries" of the country;
- Northern is dominated by mountains that average 1.500 meters above sea level. The highest peak is the 2.820 meters named Phou Bia Mountain in the Xieng Khuang Province (Northern of Laos); and the other high mountains, such as Phou Luang (Annamite Chain “ສາຍພູຫຼວງ”) mountain, which stretches from the Southeast of the Phuane Plateau down to the Cambodian border. Otherwise, Laos has 3 large plateaus, there are the Phuane Plateau in Xieng Khuang Province, Nakai Plateau in Khammuane Province, and Borlaven Plateau in the Southern Laos, 1.000 m above sea level;
- Laos is criss-crossed by many rivers and streams. The Mekong River flows through 1.835 km of the country from north to south. The Rivers and streams provide great potential for various developments of Laos, poor reliefs and stables.

The gross domestic product (GDP) per capita of US\$ 800 (2010 est.), total revenue is expending in line with increasing investments in mining and power which will provide a sound basis for planned public expenditure reforms. Although the percentage of population living

² ສີສັດຕະນາຄະຫຸດ “Sri Sadhana Kanayudha” (ຄວາມໝາຍ ຂອງ ຄຳ ວ່າສີ: ສີວິໄລ, ສັດຕະ: ຮ້ອຍ, ນາຄະ: ຊ້າງ, ແລະ ຫຸດ: ສົບພັນ, ເມື່ອຕີຄວາມໝາຍຮວມເຂົ້າກັນໝາຍເຖິງ: ປະຕະພິ ແຫ່ງ ຊ້າງໜຶ່ງຮ້ອຍສົບພັນໂຕ ຫຼື ພຣະຣາຊອານາຈັກລ້ານຊ້າງ).

³ Fauveau, Vincent (1997), *Démographie de la peninsula indochinoise*, Universités Francophones, (p.45).

⁴ Evans, G. (2002), *A SHORT HISTORY OF LAOS the land in between*, p. 3.

below the poverty line decreased from 48% in 1990 to an estimated 31% the country still being one of the 13 least developed countries (LDCs) in the Asia Pacific region and ranks 137 out of 187 in the Global Human Development Index (2010).

II. Official language

The official language is Lao (ຟາສາລາວ *Pha-Sa-Lao*); which was derived from the Pali and Sanscrit languages, due to long history, the script is that used in Laos for religious texts and known by the name of *Tham* (Dharma) characters as the Louis FINOT, the first director of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* concluded⁵, Maha Sila VIRAVONG⁶ summarized⁷ and Michel LORRILLARD *Professor of the École française d'Extrême-Orient* stressed⁸ that Lao belong to the Tai linguistic group who began migrating southward from China in the first millennium AD; the Lao language is monosyllabic and tonal; the polysyllabic words are occasionally found particularly in literary writing of Paali and Sanskrit in origins (neither Khmer nor Thai language) instead of Mone language in basis of transformed with Pāli and Sanskrit, called Ramanya (ຣາມນຍະ). Buddhism plays an important role in the life of the Lao people and has given them a deserved reputation for friendliness, gentleness, kindness, gaiety, wisdom, and language also, therefore Lao language in ancient time called Tham (Dharma) language.

The ancient Lao scripts was excavated the Inscription Stone (ໃບເສມາ) at Vixun Temple in Luang Prabang original which Lao historians was approved the year of published in B.E. 1713 (A.D. 1170).



⁵ Finot Louis (1903), *Ex-voto du That Luong de Vieng-Chan (Laos)*, BEFEO III, (p. 660-663).

⁶ Maha Sila Viravong was to become a close aide to Chao Phetsarat Rattavongsa, Viceroy (Kingdom of Laos).

⁷ Maha Sila Viravong (1973), *Pavat Nangsue Lao* [Histoire de L'écriture Lao], Vientiane.

⁸ Lorillard, Michael (2009), Scripts and History: the Case of Laos, *Written Cultures in Mainland Southeast Asia*, SENRI ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES 74: 33-34

The Ancient Lao language,
written in *Bai-lan* or 'palm
leaves'⁹



S i l a b a r i o L a o						
ກ	ຂ	ຄ	ງ	ຈ	ສ	ຊ
ko	kho	kho	ngo	cho	so	so
ຍ	ດ	ຕ	ຖ	ທ	ນ	ບ
nyo	do	to	tho	tho	no	bo
ປ	ຟ	ຝ	ພ	ຟ	ມ	ຢ
po	pho	fo	pho	fo	mo	yo
ຮ	ລ	ວ	ຫ	ອ	ຮ	
ro	lo	wo	ho	'o	ho	
V o c a l e s						
La notación del rico sistema vocálico es idéntico al del tai y se usan notaciones superiores, inferiores, prefijos, sufijos e infijos.						
Por ejemplo, si tomamos la letra C, C̄ = Cā, Ċ = Cū, Ĉ = Cī,						
C̄C̄ = Cau, {C}C̄ = Co, ĈĈ = Cō.						

(Figure 2) Lao alphabets

III. Ethnic

The current Lao citizens, there are multiethnic peoples and consists of 49 ethnic groups⁹, which identified 49 different ethnic groups in four main linguistic families, based on the assessment of the provincial Lao Front for National Construction (LFNC) censuses in 1999-2000 and according to the preliminary figures given to the symposiums, seminar, and various meetings on the names of ethnic groups in Laos, which was held in 2000s. Consequent, on the ordinary session of the VI (sixth) National Assembly of Laos, have unanimous approval on the name of ethnic groups, indigenous peoples and the number of ethnic groups in the Lao P.D.R on 24 November 2008, recognizes only one nationality, all citizens are Lao, but recognizes over 100 ethnic sub-groups within 49 ethnic groups and abolishes the previous tripartite division in nationalities (Lao Loum, Lao Sung, and Lao Theung, with 68 ethnic groups in the past “3 ຊົນຊາດ 68 ຊົນເຜົ່າ” and minorities word also abolished to use in Laos).

The 49 ethnic groups in Laos, which Lao government has officially endorsed the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) are arranged in four speaking groups are as below:

1. **The Lao-Tai Family** (also known as Daic, accounting for 71% of the population), there are 8 ethnic groups, such as:
 - ①. Lao (ລາວ);
 - ②. Phuthai (ຜູ້ໄທ);
 - ③. Tai (ໄຕ);
 - ④. Lue (ລຼື);
 - ⑤. Yuan (ຍູນ);
 - ⑥. Yàng (ຢັງ);
 - ⑦. Saek (ແຂກ); [and]

⁹ Resolution № 213/NA, dated 25 November 2008 of 6th Plenary Session of the 6th Legislature of Laos.

⑧. Thai Neua (ໄທເໜືອ).

2. **The Mone-Khmer Family** (a branch of Austro-Asiatic, accounting for 24.1% of the population), there are 32 ethnic groups, which includes:

- 1) Khmu (ກຸມມຸ ຫຼື ຂີ້ມ);
- 2) Plai/Pray (ໄປຣ);
- 3) Shingmun (ຊິງມຸນ);
- 4) Phòng (ຜອງ);
- 5) Thaene (ແທນ);
- 6) Idu (ອີດູ);
- 7) Bit (ບິດ);
- 8) Làmed (ລະເມດ);
- 9) Samtao (ສາມຕ້າວ ຫຼື ດອຍ);
- 10) Kàtang (ກະຕາງ);
- 11) Kàtu (ກະຕູ);
- 12) Mākong (ມະກອງ);
- 13) Tri/Try (ຕຣີ);
- 14) Trieng (ຕຣຽງ);
- 15) Krieng (ກຣຽງ);
- 16) Y'lù/Y'rù (ຢຣຸ);
- 17) Làvi (ລະວີ);
- 18) Pākò (ປະໂກະ ຫຼື ປະໂກ້);
- 19) Lalāk or Aàràk/Rarāk (ຣາຣັກ ຫຼື ອາຣັກ);
- 20) Suay (ຊວ້າຍ);
- 21) Yàe (ແຢະ);
- 22) Tà-Oy (ຕະໂອ້ຍ);
- 23) Oy (ໂອຍ);
- 24) Blao/Brao (ບຣາວ ຫຼື ລະແວ);
- 25) Sàdang (ສະດາງ);
- 26) Khmer (ຂະແມ);
- 27) Nguan (ງວນ);
- 28) Labri (ລາບຣີ);
- 29) Kri/Kry (ກຣີ);
- 30) Mone (ມອນ);
- 31) Toum (ຕູ້ມ); [and]
- 32) Chéng (ເຈງ).

3. **The Tibeto-Burman Family** (accounting for 1% of the population), there are 7 ethnic groups, such as:

- ①. Ahka (ອາຂ່າ);
- ②. Singsili (PhouNoy) ສິງສິລີ (ຟູນ້ອຍ ຫຼື ຜູ້ນ້ອຍ);
- ③. Lahu (ລາຫູ);
- ④. Sila (ສິລາ);

- ⑤. Hayi (ຮາຍີ);
- ⑥. Lolo (ໂລໂລ); [and]
- ⑦. Hor (ຫໍ້).

4. **The Hmong-Mien Family** (also known as Maio-Yao¹⁰, accounting for 4% of the population), which category has 2 main tribes:
- 1) Hmong (ມົ້ງ); [and]
 - 2) Lumien (ອົວມ້ນ) or Yao (ຢ້າວ).

These multiethnic people of Laos are generally scattered across the country, while each has its own unique traditions, culture and language, which has fruitfully from the ancestors' civilizations, alongside with the Tai people and other ethnic groups in Laos.

In addition, accordance to RAENDCHEN concluded, the Tai's social values and the typical behavior described in this context living on in all Tai peoples in "Greater Southeast Asia" (including Southern China and Assam) in 1990s and 2000s¹¹.

The Tai historically, over centuries have migrated alongside the Mekong River (LanXang River in Chinese “澜沧江” ແມ່ນ້ຳຂອງ) have created the Muong “or city” then started with the first millennium Tai people constructed their new cities, drawing together different tribal communities under rulers claiming quasi-divine authority and kingly status. The establishment of the new realm of Tai race, the affluent realm at that time called Muong Swa (or Xua “ເມືອງຊວາ”), later was changed the name XiengDong-XiengThong Kingdom (ອານາຈັກຊຽງດົງຊຽງທອງ), and its capital Xieng Thong “ເມືອງຊຽງທອງ”, and lastly the Luang Prabang (ຫຼວງພະບາງ) during the new kingdom was founded in mid-fourteenth century when the Prabang was invited to the Lān Xāng Kingdom from the Khmer's King (Angkor) till the present by King Fa Ngum, who were the source of the Lān Xāng lineage (ການສືບຕໍ່ສັນຕະຕົວ) from Aiy-Lao ethnic and the Kingdom of Laos was established in nineteenth century (colonial period also included) which almost 650 years of monarchy, until the new regime was replaced in 1975 (Lao P.D.R).

Laos has a multi-ethnic population of 6.17 million (2010 in estimated) with a growth rate of 2,3 % per year, birth rate of 33.94/1,000 and death rate of 11.02/1,000 per annum, over 70% of the population resides in rural areas (inhabitants), hence Laos has one of the lowest population densities in the region (24 people per Km²), the life expectancy 63, 5 years; the infant mortality rate <1 year of age 55 per 1.000 live births, and the infant mortality rate <5 years of age 75 per 100.000 live births.

¹⁰ Hmong and Yao also called Meo and Yao Tinepane speak a different language, but all understand Yunnanese, or *guan hoa*. The Yao write the same characters as the Chinese by E. Lefèvre in “*Un Voyage au Laos*”, Éd. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, Paris (1898), translated and Introduction by Walter E. J. Tips (1995), *Travels in Laos* The Fate of the Sip Song Pana and Muong Sing (1894-1896), White Lotus Co. Ltd., p. 28-31.

¹¹ Olivier Raendchen, (2008), *Tai Ancient Philosophy: tau tae tching or lao-tse (The Right Path); Tai Peoples in China. Part I. Tai Culture*, Vol. 20, p. 53.

Chapter II

History of Laos in Brief

The preliminary history or background of Laos, which was invented story of ancestral of Tai tribes, by which well-known of the inhabitant of the Aiy-Lao people in China as the Pheuan Khun Borom or Lord Khun Borom's Legend in ancient Lao text to the stone since new millennium, then was published in BaiLan began in 15th century; but both transcription mostly was destroyed, and the lastly published in books, and also reputes or always talks among Tai communities around the world.

The legend of Khun Borom, who came from the heaven (from Müang Thaen) which described on the background and situation in ancient time of the earth, lands and the sky (the legend of Nam Taw Pung)¹², Lao called the Nam Taow Pung means, a large elongated gourd reaches the sky (heaven). When the gods (the khun) heard noises in the gourds, they broke them open and released animals of all kinds and a great number of people. But these statements may differ somewhat from other myths and ideas. However, those legends also said that the god sent the deities, animals, and also humans to the earth (and earth protectors) Khun Borom, the son of the Heavenly God Phaya Thaen¹³, progenitor of the Tai-speaking peoples, considered by Lao and others to be the father of their race. When a giant plant began to grow and cut off light from the world, an old man and woman who had come to the earth with Khun Borom volunteered to cut down the plant but lost their lives in the process. These are the Lao ancestors known as Pou-Yer Yaa-Yer, and SingKeo, who still participate in masked form in Laotian festivals (celebration always organizes in every Lao New Year festival) in Luang Prabang. But recent idea, Khun Borom myth may provide insight into the early history of the Tai people in Southeast Asia (occur as early in Siang Khwang)¹⁴.

Etymology of Laos, in accordance to the Lao historians, researchers, and scholars has examined, reviewed, and concluded in plenty knowledge and vary point of views, although, history of Laos was written since ancient time. Aiy- Lao, the ancestral of many tribes who has lives in the high land (mountains, named 哀牢山 located in Yunnan of China), the descendant nowadays called themselves as Tai, Thai, Lao, and so on. There are vary ideas from the scholars, whom also high professionals (including the Lao historians, archaeologies, and experts), but still controversial as different views, based from their own expertise, which results from the researches and analysis concluded. Therefore, after I scrutinized to the word Aiy-Lao, respectively word "Aiy" means big-brother, brother, or big-group; I supported to idea with the word "Lao" means star or ຣາວ 'Dao in Lao'; the word "Aiy-Lao" means the star people, due to these people lives in the high mountain like heaven. Although in the present-day used the word "Lao" merely, who derived from the Aiy-Lao tribe (including Tai, Thai, Lao, Zhuang, Nung, etc.), but it still maintained the heritages of ancestors, whom also have sticky rice with fermented-fish in sauce as a basic food or major rice for their lives. (see also vary point of view from scholars, such as Simon de la Loubère; Georges Coedès; ມະຫາ ສິລາ ວິຣະວົງສ໌ (1957 in Lao) and Maha Sila Viravong (1964); Mayoury and Pheuipanh Ngaosyvathn; Luang Vichit Vathakarn; Phrya Anuman-rujdhon; Legends, Stories, Nithān Khun Bôrom; Area Handbook for Laos; Le Boulanger, Paul; Mouhot Henri; Lebar Frank, Suddard Adrienne; Terwiel, Barend J.; Paul K. Benedict; ປະຫວັດສາດລາວ (History of Laos) by [Ministry of Education and Sports,

¹² http://www.taistudiescenter.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=10:early-history-of-the-tai-people&catid=5:history&Itemid=7

¹³ <http://www.seasite.niu.edu/lao/culture/luangprabang/KB.htm>

¹⁴ Wyatt, David K. (2003), *Thailand: A Short History*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

1989, 1991 & 1995] and [Ministry of Information and Culture 1996]; ດວງໄຊ ຫຼວງພະສີ; ສຸເນດ ໂພທິສານ; Katay Don Sasorith; Evans Gran; Stuart-Fox Martin; Koret Peter; Simms, Peter and Sanda; Christopher E. Goscha and Søren Ivarsson; Jory Patrick; Condominas George; Wyatt K. David; Hayashi Yukio; Akiko Lijima, and so on).

I Unitary in Brief

Laos has been known since ancient times, the habitation of early mankind in Laos (in current location) appears to have prolonged in many decades of thousands years ago as stone tools and skulls unearthed in many provinces in Laos. The odysseys of Laos's state or territory have begun more than 5.000 years ago most of them were hunter and gatherers, then farmers growing Sticky rice, non-glutinous rice, pulses, etc. The scientists, who found the ancient skulls in Huaphan and Luang Prabang Provinces of Laos, it can confirm the habitat. The famous giant jars (plain of jars) in Xiengkhuang Province and Stone-Columns in HuaPhan Province dated from the Neolithic period, and so on.

The original location of Lao people lived in the northern part of Laos; they created many cities in ancient period, and moved down to the southward, due to many factors and conditions.

The present-day location of Laos, stands at the crossroads of mainland Southeast Asia, where surrounded by China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Thailand and Myanmar (Burma), this small country has been both a bridge and buffer between neighbors who, in glory days, provided a field of territorial expansion by Lao kings. Yet more often than not Laos has been an arena in which more powerful neighbors and their allies have interfered by the feudalist countries, due to the location, abundance and blessing with natural resources. Its means Lao has shared a common history with others, such as Siam (Thai), Burma (Myanmar), China (South and West), Vietnam and other people of the Tai language group, Khmer, Mone (Môn), Tibetant, Burman, Hmong, Lumien (Miao-Yao), and so on.

The Tai (also spelled Dai) are a linguistic group originating in southern China, which includes the Lao, the Siamese (Thailand), the people of the Shan region, Kachin of north-eastern Myanmar (Burma), some peoples in Sino-Tibetan Families such as 'Zhuang, Lolo, Lahu, Moso, Minchia, Kachin (Chingpo), etc.' of Yunnan, Guangxi and Sichuan Provinces in China and the Tho, Nung and Dai peoples of northern Vietnam. Under pressure from the expansion of the Chinese invasion, the Tai began to migrate into South-East Asia (especially to Indochina peninsula) during the first millennium AD. They displaced earlier peoples (including the Iron Age culture that made the great stone jars from which the Plain of Jars in central Laos takes its name). The Mekong River, which flows through what is now Laos, was a major migration route of Tai, but the strength of the Khmer Empire (Cambodia) prevented the Tai from dominating the Mekong Valley, including Mone/Môn, Hmong, Mien. Then, another Tai groups also settlement was further south into the Chao Phraya river region, where dominant of Malayic and Negrito (Aboriginal Mani people) they formed a series of kingdoms ancestral to modern Siam and Thailand.

The earliest Lao legal document (and the earliest sociological evidence about the existence of the Lao people) is known as "**the Laws of King Khun Bôrom**" (also sometimes called "Khun Bulom's Testaments") ກົດມົນທຽມບານ, still preserved in manuscript form. This set of memoriter laws is written in a type of indigenous blank verse, and reflects the state of proto-Lao society as early as the 9th century, possibly prior to their adoption of Theravada Buddhism, and prior to (or coeval with) their southward migration into the territory now comprising modern Laos (from North-Western Vietnam).

While most Lao people regard Khun Bôrom / Bulom as a subject of myth only, Western scholars regard him as an historical figure, albeit there is very little factually known about him aside from the fact of his bare existence and the description of a very primitive kingdom in his laws. In general terms, these ancient laws describe an agrarian society in which life revolves around subsistence agriculture of Tai people and related clans, races. The strict punishments set down for stealing or killing a neighbor's elephant reflect that these were (evidently) an expensive and important possession of the time.

Tai bronze making spread with them throughout Mainland Southeast Asia. The bronze drums that they made also came to be highly regarded by non-Tai peoples in the region and a trade in these drums developed and traded with Chinese, Korean and Japanese merchants.

In accordance to the history of China, India, Laos (ພົງສາວະດານລາວໂຍນົກ, ພື້ນວຽງ ແລະ ຕຳນານຊຸນບູຣົມ), Thailand, Myanmar (Burma), and Vietnam was stipulated that the Tai peoples, who originally lived in the mainland of China, Southwest, and especially to Lao historians strongly believed that Lao had descended from Tai race, who hominids migrated from the Al-Tai mountains 'Алтайн нууы' (located in Mongolia) in many decades of thousands years ago; the Tai peoples who refers to the population of descendants of speakers of a common Proto-Tai language, including sub-populations which no longer speak a Tai language in South China (Kham-Tai/Khamti, Dai, Zhuang), India (Ahom, Assam), and South Asia such as in Laos (Aiy-Lao/LānXāng/Lao), Thailand (Siam or Sayam, Thai 'Thailand begun in 1940s'), Myanmar or Burma (Shan, Kachin, Kayin states 'Union of Myanmar begun in 1989'), Vietnam (Tay, Tho, Nung). In A.D. 1503 during the reign of King Visounrarath (or King Vixun 1501-1520 "ພະເຈົ້າວິຊຸນນະຣາຊ"), Laos's history¹⁵ was published in the first time (published in Bai-lān or 'palm leaves'), after Phra Maha Thep Luang Somdej Phra Sangkharaja (Patriarch "ພະສົງຄະຣາຊ") and Thep MongKhoun Sitthi Thamma Sena was researched and written the History of LānXāng, which also mostly alongside with the Chinese history about Tai people. The ancient kingdoms of Lao people (Aiy-Lao '哀牢' in ancient period) have at first established themselves in the valleys (before the advent of Buddha, 2.500 years ago) between the rivers Hwang-Ho and Yang Tse (Yang-tse-Kiang)¹⁶ in the Tche-Chwan (四川省 "Sichuan") province of the present Chinese mainland in Southwest. The Chinese history recoded that the old location of Tai kingdom during 1000 B.C. was located at the valleys and rivers which also known in Aiy-Lao, accordance to the name of the aborigine and their mountains in ancient time (prior name was Kiw Loung Kiang "ເກົ້າໂຫຼ້ງ", or River of 9 Nagas "ແມ່ນ້ຳນາກ 9 ໂຕ ຊື່ໝາຍຄວາມວ່າ ຖິ່ນຖານຂອງຊາຍທັງເກົ້າ") they have built two big cities (Lung City "ເມືອງລຸງ", and Pah City "ເມືອງປາ"), later on another city known as Müang Ngiao (ເມືອງງົວ) has been built ('Müang ເມືອງ' in Lao means City, District and Country, sometime used Muong or Mueang). But of them all, the Pah City was the biggest and the most important at that time, until the Chinese and Tartars invaded the territory of China (early 900s B.C.) the invasion took long decades of years by Chinese armies since 860s B.C.¹⁷ and till the ends of war Müang Lung was occupied, and after that, it was pushed their invasion up to Müang Pah succeeded in 300s B.C. This period coincides with the establishment of political rule over the area by Tai nobles associated with the northern kingdoms of Chu and Yue. Similar developments occurred in Yunnan, where the leader of a Tai army from Shu

¹⁵ During this King's reign, the Nithān Khun Bôrom was rewritten in Bai-lān in 1503, see Stuart-Fox, Martin (1997), *A History of Laos*, Cambridge University Press, (p. 10).

¹⁶ Maha Sila Viravong (1957) and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, Chapter III (p. 6).

¹⁷ Taylor, Keith Weller (1983), *The Birth of Vietnam*, University of California Press, p. 212-217.

established the new kingdoms around 310 BC. After being cut off from their homeland Müang Ngaio was invaded strongly by Chinese armies, when the Qin conquered, especially during the Chin-Tse-Hong-Te “ຈົນຊື່ອ່າງຕ້” (Emperor Qin Shi Huang) of Chin Dynasty in 200s B.C.¹⁸ during the Great Wall (万里长城) was built for 10.000 li long (one li ‘里, lǐ’ equals 500 meters).

After left from the territory of Ngaio City from invasion for land, where agrarian plenty, Tai people of Müong Ngiao (ເມືອງນ້ຳວ) had to leave their territory again for freedom, due to prevented from the occupied and seized by the Chinese, then they built another capital city known as Nakhorn Peh-Ngai (ນະຄອນເພງາຍ)¹⁹ with Khuns as kings. These mention a people inhabiting Southwestern China known as the Ai-Lao (哀牢 ‘Āiláo’), the term used subsequently by the Vietnamese to refer to the Lao. But whether the Ai-Lao were ancestral to the Tai people who eventually spread over much of mainland Southeast Asia, let alone the subgroup that became the Lao, seem extremely doubtful. The Chinese texts also name a number of small kingdoms apparently located in the Mekong region, though exactly where are disputed²⁰ the preliminary NanChao Kingdom was founded. But, due to the expansion and invasion from Chinese territory to the Southwestern several times, until A.D. 225 Khongbeng (Zhuge Liang ‘諸葛亮 ຫຼື ຊິງເບັງ’, Chancellor of Liu Bei ‘劉備’ of Shu Han (蜀汉) during the Three Kingdoms period (220-280)) defeated NanChao. When loosed their old territories (the old Kingdom), Tai people migrated into mainland Southeast Asia along to the southern, moved and created new small Kingdom named new NanChao “ອານາຈັກໜອງແລ້ວ” in 3rd century and affluent in 300 years later till new millennium.



(Figure 3)

In A.D. 225 General Khong Beng defeated the army of Beng Hek, the Tai Prince of Aiy-Lao Kingdom and forced him to submit to the Emperor of SzeChuan (picture was illustrated in 1949)²¹.

¹⁸ Maha Sila Viravong (1957) and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, Chapter III (p. 6-10).

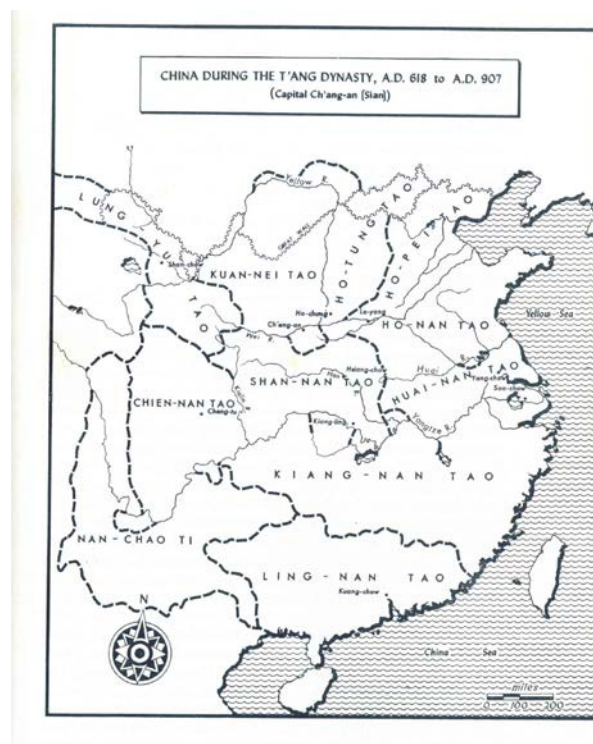
¹⁹ This city was mentioned in the book dealing with the history of the Tai people as Muong Peh-Nhai and in others it was called Peh-Ngai, Peh-Nhai or Peh-Nhong; others yet by the name of Muong Pak-Ai, or Poh-Nhai and nowadays the Chinese call it Pu-Eh-Fu (P'u-erh, 普洱).

²⁰ Stuart-Fox, Martin (1997), *A History of Laos*, Cambridge University Press, (p. 6).

²¹ WAR Wood (1924), *A History of Siam*, Fisher Unwin Ltd. London, and reprinted (1994), Bangkok, p. 21.

During flourished NanChao, there are many cities (Müang) and parts of region was occupied by Tai peoples, who recorded in the Chinese history, evidences and various document stipulated the 'Aiy-Lao' was dominant at that time, then established new independence kingdoms such as Müang Sawa (Xua) in 709, Müang Thaen (City of Thaen “ເມືອງແຖນ ຫຼື ເມືອງກາຫຼົງ ຫຼື ເມືອງເກົ້າໂຫຼ້ງ”) in 731. The Tai called this *Müang* (a town or principality) by the name "Thaen" or "Thaeng," which is Tai for "heaven" or "god". The Chinese call it 天 "t'ien" which has the same meaning "heaven", and "fu", which means *Müang*. In 733 Müang Thaeng (Thaeng City), where was the capital of **King Khun Bôrom** (or Khun Bôlôm) it is in the Sipsong Banna or Sip-Song-Phan-Na-Lue “ສິບສອງພັນນາລີ”, meaning "twelve thousand rice paddies" of Tai people in the Yunnan region (西双版纳傣族自治州 in the present). And the Sip-Sông Chau-Tai (or Sip-Sông Chu-Tai “ສິບສອງຈຸໄຕ ຫຼື ສິບສອງຈົໄຕ”) called Điện Biên Phủ in the present (now located in Vietnam), it was recognized by France in 1890 under Đèo Văn Tri who was the White Tai leader in Sip-Song Chu-Tai, during Auguste Jean-Marie Pavie²² conquered Indochina. In addition, in 740 King Khun Bôrom have built a new city named Dahor “ເມືອງດ້າຫໍ” in the northern capital of NanZhao about 40 li “里” (or 20 KM) before his death in 750.

As recorded by the ninth century, the Tai people were spread across upland Southeast Asia and surrounded by reestablished the Kingdom of NanChao, a well-organized military state located in southwestern China²³, During the flourished NanChao Period (649-1253 A.D.) the Tai people founded their kingdom in the Southern part of China which is Yunnan, Kwangsi and Canton today. Originally an ally, NanChao became a powerful foe of the Chinese in subsequent centuries and extended its domain into what are now Burma, northern Vietnam, and Northern provinces of Laos.

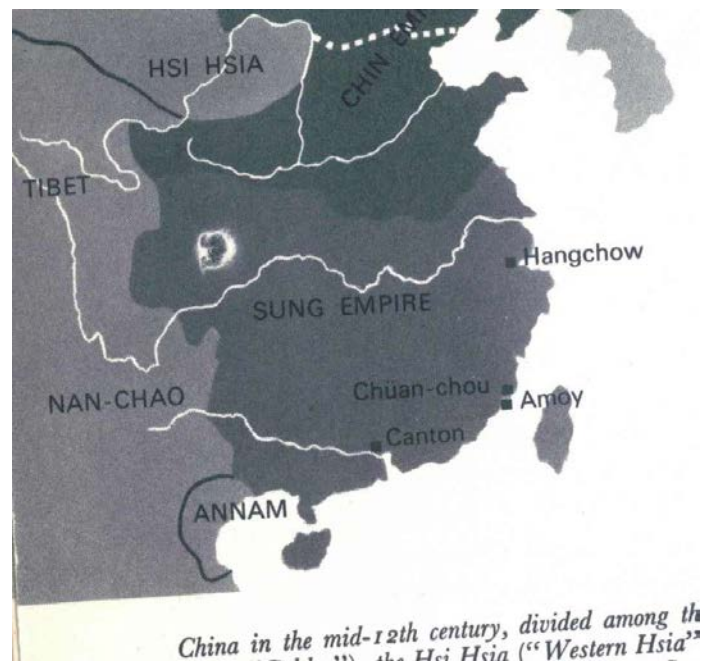


(Figure 4) Kingdom of NanChao with other Kingdoms during the T'ang Dynasty A.D. 618-907²⁴.

²² Auguste Jean-Marie Pavie, who was established the French protectorate over Laos in 1893 after Franco-Siamese War.

²³ Jeff Cranmer, Steven Martin, Kirby Coxon (1991), *The Rough Guide to Laos*, (p. 328).

²⁴ McNall Burns, Edward (1964), *World Civilizations, Their History and Their Culture*, W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., p. 485.



(Figure 5) NanChao Kingdom during 12th Century (pre-Mongol) with the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) which eventually succeeded the T'ang Dynasty in China, and relations with Neighboring Dynasties (Mongols in the Northwest, Tibetans in the west, Chinese Chin Empire in the Northeast, and Vietnamese in Annam in the Southern), before the Mongol Empire by Khans in 13th to 14th Century (A.D. 1206-1368)²⁵.



(Figure 6) Tai People had traded with other kingdoms and dynasties²⁶.

²⁵ Modern Illustrated Library (1962 & 1968), *World History Civilization from its beginnings*, p. 131-135.

²⁶ 교육부검정(1989), *역사부도* (in Korean) Historical Assistant Material Map, Printed in Korean.

The Popular History of NanChao "History of the Southern Princes" which was written in 1537 A.D. by **Yang Shen (ຢາງເສັນ or Yang-tsai)** of Chen-t'u fu in Szuchuan and re-edited by Hu-yu of Wuchang-fu in Hupeh in 1776. The History of NanChao which was published by the scholar Yang Shen (楊慎 in Chinese; 1488–1559), who was a former noble scholar in the Ming Dynasty (see also Figure). Yang Shen spent his exile life over 30 years in Yunnan (after recognized as a province of China in A.D. 1382), more than 100 writings which related to the NanChao or Yunnan, particularly well known are the "*Linjiangxian* (臨江仙)", later employed as the introductory his poem to the "*Romance of Three Kingdoms* (三國演義) ကလောင် 3 ကိ" ²⁷. In addition, according to this work the traditional origin of the NanChao group of states is connected with the kings of MAGADHA, and there seems to be nothing unreasonable in the supposition that military or priestly adventurers from that country first civilized and collected under a political administration the scattered tribes of Yunnan, for we are told as late as A.D. 800 that MAGADHA upon the bordered NanChao Empire to the west.

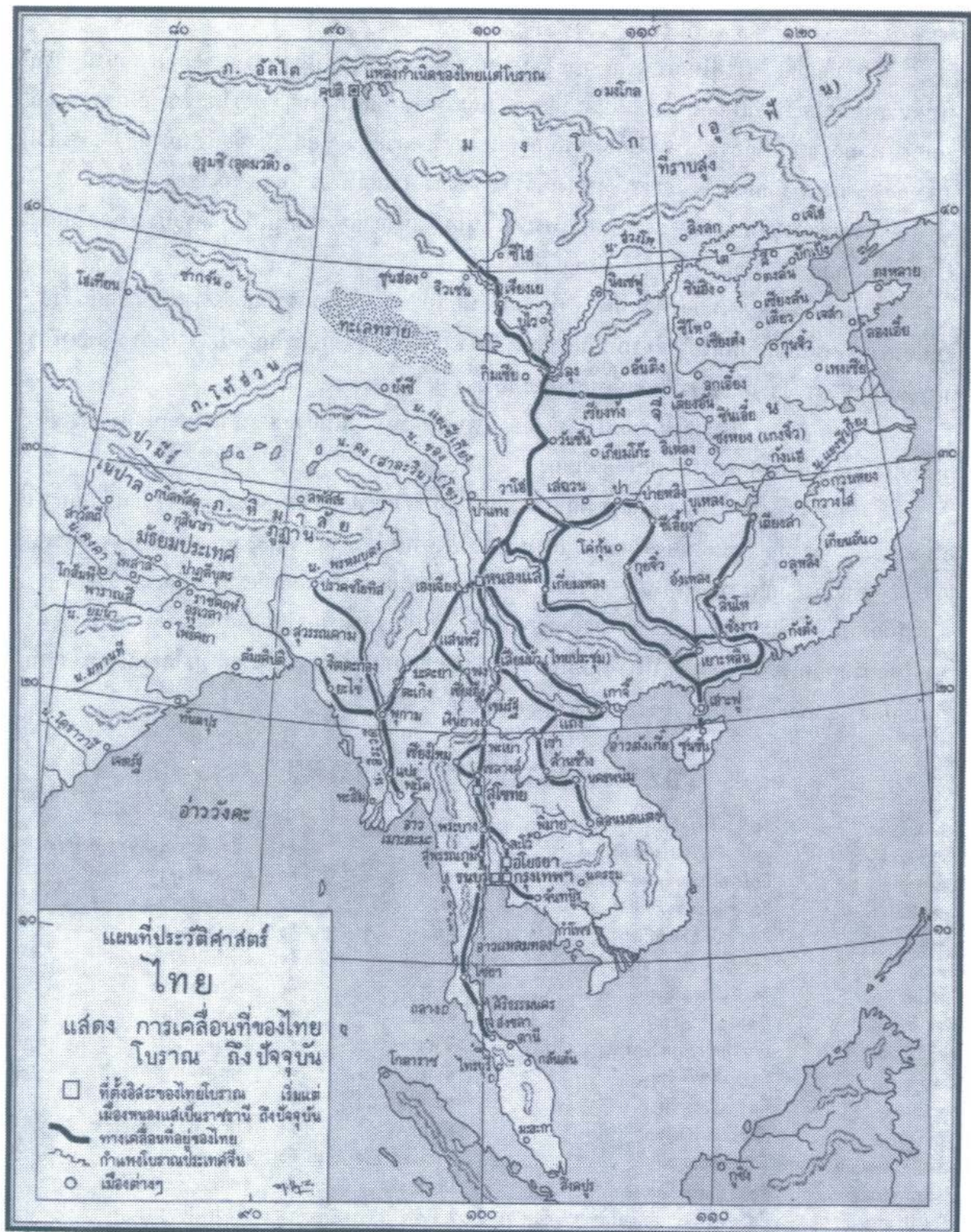
In the papers upon EARLY LAOS by E.H. PARKER Esq., published in the China Review, as well as in little book upon BURMA (published in Rangoon), shown that it is a fact beyond all doubts that Hindo adventurers gave the earliest known organized dynasties to all the states of the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the Javo-Borneo-Sumatra archipelago alike. Just in the same manner adventurers from China made their way to Korea, Canton, Soochow, Hangchow, parts of Central Asia, etc., and founded kingdom or principalities afterwards to be absorbed in the Chinese empire ²⁸.



(Figure 9) Yang Shen (楊慎) in A.D. 1500s

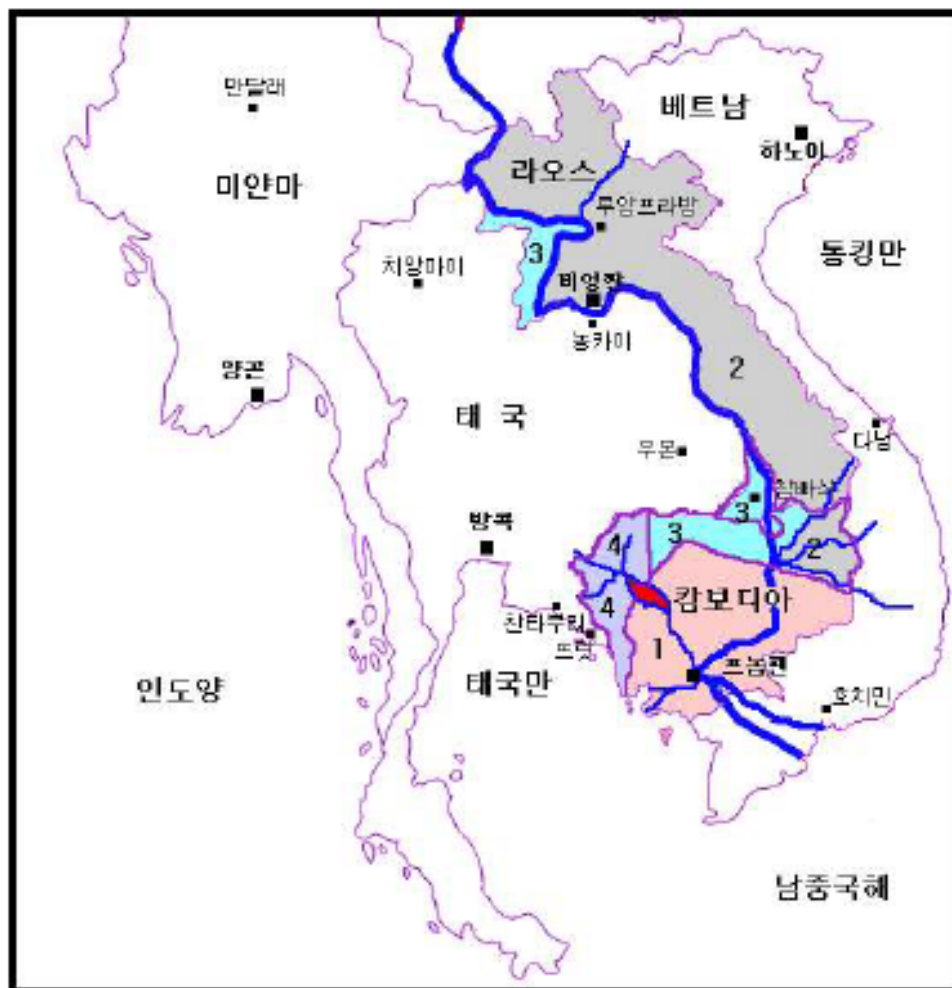
²⁷ Cambridge University Press (2010), *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature Volume II: From 1375*, p. 43-45.

²⁸ <http://tudtu.tripod.com/tai2.htm>



(Figure 7)

Movement of Thai People from Ancient to Modern Times (Winichakul 1994), similar with the Lao Text-Book of the History of Laos (1989) Primary School Grade 5, and the History of Laos (Secondary School Grade 1) which was used in 1991, Ministry of Education and Sports of Laos.



1867-1907년간 태국의 메콩강 유역 명토 상실

(Figure 8) A Study on the Historical Relations between Riparian State of the Mekong River (by CHO Hung-guk, Daewoo Professor, Sogang Graduate School of Public Policy) 2009.

1) Kingdom of NanChao

Kingdom of NanChao or Nan-Tchow or NanZhao, alternate spellings NanChao Kingdom (南詔 Nánzhào in Chinese, 남조 or 대리국 in Korean, อาณาจักรน่านเจ้า, อาณาจักรหนองแส in Thai, and Nong Sae Kingdom “**ອານາຈັກໜອງແສ**” in Lao) was built in 395 A.D. after relocated in the east of the Mekong river (LanXang Jiang ‘**澜滄江**’ River, upper course of the Mekong River), where new capital city located (it

was centered on present-day Dali-fu, Yunnan Province in China) then called NongSaeh at the South Western of China.

The originally founding and ethnography of NanChao was a polity that flourished during prior of new millennium, there were several tribes that settled on the fertile land around the alpine fault lake Erhai from 617 to 647 A.D. These tribes were called their vary cities such as: ① Mengshe (**ເມືອງແສ ຫຼື ເມືອງ ໜອງແສ**, or 蒙舍 or Müang Sae or Müang Nong-Sae),

② Mengsui (ເມືອງສັຍ, or 蒙嵩 or Müang Sui), ③ Langqiong (ເມືອງລ້ານກຸງ, or 浪穹 or Müang Lane-Kung), ④ Dengtan (ເມືອງທົ່ງຊ້າງ, or 澄賧 or Müang DengXieng or Müang Thong Xang), ⑤ Shilang (ເມືອງຊຽງລ້ານ, or 施浪 or Müang Xieng Lān), and ⑥ Yuexi (ເມືອງເອ້ຍເຊ້, or 越析 or Müang Ia-Tse). Each tribe had its own kingdom, known as a *zhao*.

In 649 A.D. the chieftain of the Mengshe (ເມືອງແສ ຫຼື ເມືອງໜອງແສ, or 蒙舍 or Müang Sae or Müang Nong-Sae) tribe, King or Lord Xinuluo (ພຣະເຈົ້າສິນໂລ ປະຖົມກະສັດຂອງລາວໄຕ in Lao, 細奴邏 in Chinese), founded a kingdom of Ailao (哀牢) peoples (Damengguo 大蒙國) means "great land of the Meng" named NanChao in the area of Lake Erhai (洱海, Nong Sae, or ໜອງແສ in Lao) 649-685 A.D. The Kingdom of NanChao during the year 728 to 737 A.D. under reigned of the King or Lord Piluoge (皮羅閣 in Chinese, พระเจ้าพิลอเก๊ะ in Thai, and ພຣະເຈົ້າຊຸນບຸຣົມຣາຊາທິຣາຊ in Lao) ປະຖົມກະສັດຂອງລາວ united the six *Zhaos* in succession, then establishing a new kingdom called **NanZhao** (Mandarin, "Southern Zhao") where covered territories of many ethnic groups, such as: Tai, Zhuang, Ai-Lao, Assamese/Ahom, Dai, Bai, etc. Among these six cities, Mengshe (蒙舍 or หนองแส, or ເມືອງ ຫຼື ນະຄອນໜອງແສ) is the capital city of the Kingdom. The country was subsequently called the Nong Sae Kingdom or NanChao²⁹. The frontiers of this kingdom have been recorded in the Chinese history book as including the following areas:

1. The northwest earn borders touched Su-Lu-Fan (Tibet);
2. In the north the borders touched the city of Ngiu-Tchow (China);

3. In the southern the borders touched the Kao-Chi country (Vietnam);
4. In the east the borders touched Müang Sun, province of Kwai-Tchow or Kweichow (China);
5. To the west the borders touched the city of Moh-Ka-Toh (Makatha or Magadha country of India);
6. To the south the borders touched the city of Nui-Wong;
7. To the southwest the borders touched the city of Piu;
8. The northeastern tips touched the city of Chim-Mu.

²⁹ Maha Sila Viravong (1957) and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, Chapter III (p. 13).

King Khun Borom was a formidable king of NanChao after he united the Kingdom, which at his accession was divided into 6 Prefectures (principalities) and new prefecture (total in 7). The earliest law code of **Tai mandala** known as "**Laws of Khun Bôrom**"³⁰. The **Khun Bôrom** (or "**Khun Bôlôm Raja thi-raja**") means Lord Bulom (ພຣະເຈົ້າຂຸນບຣຸມ ຣາຊາທິຣາຊ in Lao, 皮羅閣 'Piluoge' in Chinese, พระเจ้าพิลอโศก in Thai) was born in 697, he ascended the throne at age 31 years old in 728 to 749 and died at age 53 (in 750 A.D.), King Khun Bôrom had two wives Ekamahesi and Ekengthavi.

Accordance to the Thai Encyclopedias A.D. 1943 (B.E. 2486) stipulated on the Kingdom of NanChao during King Khun Bôrom Empire in its golden age, armies and prosperity achieved by vigorous governmental organizations. The government structure of NanZhao has ruled the empire were organized was a group of **9 Ministries** (部, or กระทรวง, or ກະຊວງ) such as:

1. Ministry of Interior, Provinces and Personnel Administration (ກະຊວງພາຍໃນ, ບົກຄອງທ້ອງຖິ່ນ ແລະ ບຸກຄະລາກອນ);
2. Ministry of Defense and War (ກະຊວງປ້ອງກັນຊາດ ແລະ ສົງຄາມ);
3. Ministry of Revenue, Tax and Treasury (ກະຊວງການຄັງຫຼວງ);
4. Ministry of Foreign Relation and Diplomats (ກະຊວງພົວພັນກັບຕ່າງຊາດ ແລະ ຣາຊະທູດ);
5. Ministry of Chamberlain, Rites and Tradition (ກະຊວງການວັງ, ພິທີກຳ ແລະ ຣາຊະປະເພນີ);
6. Ministry of Commerce and Textile (ກະຊວງພານິດ ແລະ ສິງທໍ);
7. Ministry of Legitimacy, Court and Justice (ກະຊວງກົດໝາຍ, ສານ ແລະ ຄວາມຍຸຕິທັມ);
8. Ministry of Census (ກະຊວງສຳມະໂນຄົວ);
9. Ministry of Land and Agriculture (ກະຊວງທໍລະນີ ແລະ ການກະເສດ).

In addition, the Nanzhao kingdom sets up bureaus, offices and so on. This describes an agrarian proto Tai-Lao society in administration.

Nan Chao Kingdom area divided into 1 Capital city (ເມືອງໜອງແສ), 7 Prefectures, and 101 Counties / Müang (ຮ້ອຍເອັດ ເຈັດຫົວເມືອງ), each county is the city's major cities and towns Tora quarter. Each town has a ruler and government departments were cascaded down to the first floor is the master and doctorate degree and fourth floors.

Government granted the land for arable to earn as much as a feudal Siam, Burmese, Lānna, and Kingdom of Lān Xāng. People have the right to own land as the government set as officials and is not taxable.

Nan Chao Kingdom of Ancient Ai-Lao was made up of many ethnic and linguistic groups, where invaded many time and again by the Chinese, but King Khun Bôrom were always defeated them and followed up his victories right into the heart of their territory.

The Tang and NanChao were able to maintain peaceful relationships until the 740s, when Ko Lo Feng, Pi Lo Ko's son, became king. Ko Lo Feng was an ambitious and militarily capable king who wanted to extend the rule of Nan Chao. During the 750s, the Chinese frequently sent armies to wage war against Nan Chao, but Ko Lo Feng and his armies defeated them. From then on, Nan

³⁰ Law was written in ancient period and have rewritten in 1422 at Xieng Khuang, which refers in detail to the structure of early Lao society. The latter consisted of four categories: aristocracy, free peasants or commoners (phai), slaves (kha), and at the bottom, the non-ethnic Lao. Stuart-Fox, Martin (1998), *The Lao Kingdom of Lan Xang: Rise and Decline*, White Lotus, (p. 47).

Chao was able to control most parts of Yunnan, and he extended its political and military power even further over its neighbors in southern China and northern Southeast Asia³¹.

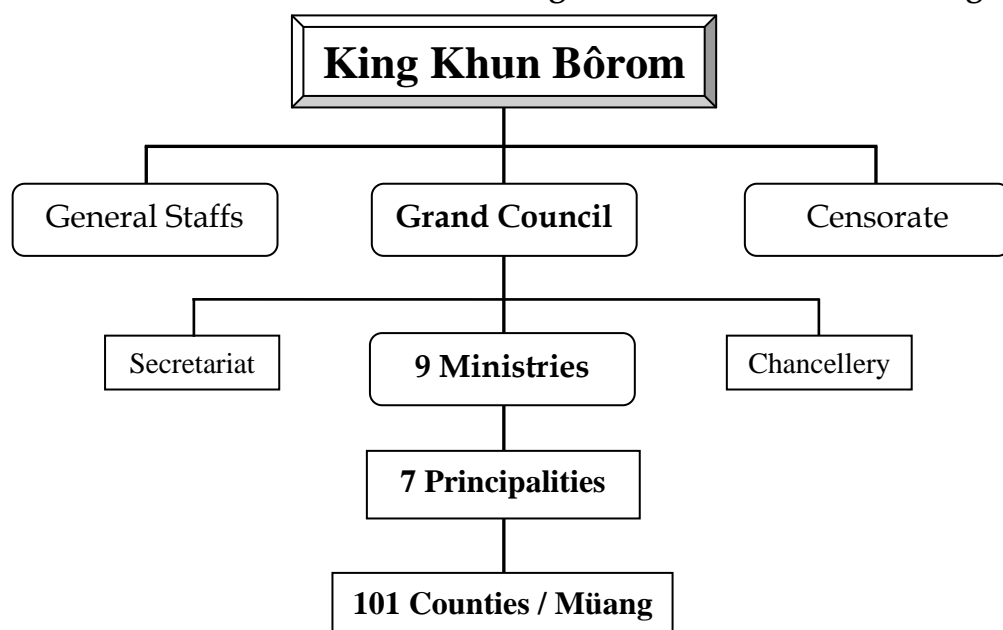
It was said of Kolofeng (or Khun Lô “ຊຸລະ” in Lao) the eldest grandson who succeeded him and who followed up the victories that at the different campaigns Kolofeng killed many enemies and conquered many territories to extended the Tai civilization, especially to the Mekong region.

Khun Lô was the eldest of the sons of Khun Bôrom and first of the Lao kings; Khun Lô established a dynasty whose fifteen rulers reigned over an independent Muang Sua for the better part of a century. Khun Lô had been awarded the town by his father, Khun Bôrom, who is associated with the Lao legend of the creation of the world, which the Lao share with the Shan and other peoples of the region³².



Figure 10, Kingdom of NanZhao and its neighbors in 800 AD, (Source by Thomas Lessman)

The Basic Structure of Governmental Organizations of NanChao Kingdom



³¹Ooi Keat Gin (2004), *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia, from Angkor Wat to Timor. R-Z. Vol. 3, ABC-CLIO, P. 935.*

³² <http://www.creedopedia.com/topics/Khun-Lo>.

King Khun Bôrom had two wives Ekamahesi (ນາງ ຍົມພະລາ ເອກຄະມະເຫສີ) and Ekengthavi (ນາງ ເອກເຄງເທວີ ມະເຫສີຜ້າຍຊ້າຍ) and seven sons (Khuns or Princes), and then he sent to administered 7 prefectures (principalities), and so formed the great Tai world such as:

- ①. Prince Lô (Kolofeng “ຂຸນລໍ”) the eldest son, ruled Müang Thaen (Điện Biên Phủ)³³, and then founded XiangDong XiangThong Dynasty (Luang Prabang), after war between Thao Fa-Huan of Müang Tum-Wang with Khmer stronger enemy, Khun Lô received requested from Thao Fa-Huan for help, consequently Khun Lô (Kolofeng) conquered, he occupied Müang Swa, and then founded the new capital city of the Aiy-Lao Kingdom (renamed Müang Swa to Müang Xieng Thong) in the year 1300 B.E. (757 A.D.)³⁴;
- ②. Prince Yi Fah Lan (“ຂຸນຍີຜາລ້ານ”) ruled Müang SipsongPanna (Sipsong Banna);
- ③. Prince Chu Song /ChouLaNee (“ຂຸນຈຸສົງ”) ruled Müang TungKea, Tongkin, Annam (Vietnam);
- ④. Prince SaiPhong or Khun KhamPhong (“ຂຸນຄຳຜົງ ຫຼື ທ້າວຄຳຜົງ”) was ruled Müang Souvannkhomkham, or ChiengSen, then latter called Lanna, (ChiengMai, Thailand);
- ⑤. Prince Ngua-In (“ຂຸນງົວອິນ”) ruled Müang Ayutthaya (Thailand);
- ⑥. Prince Lak Kom (“ຂຸນລັກກົມ”) went to Khammouan, but they executed him in Pakse; Müang Hongsa (Inthapura), (Shan state, Burma);
- ⑦. Prince Chüang or Khun Chet Cheaung (“ຂຸນເຈືອງ ຫຼື ຂຸນເຈັດເຈືອງ”) ruled Müang Phuan (Xiang Khuang), which comprised what, was later to be called the Tran Ninh Plateau (northern Annamite Chain) and the valley of the Ngum Rivers to the north and Nhiap Rivers running south to Borikamxay Province, all of which are Mekong River tributaries.

After King or Lord Khun Bôrom was died in 750 A.D. (ພຣະເຈົ້າຂຸນບຸຣົມ ຮາຊາທິຣາຊ ຊົງສະຫວັນນະຄົດ ເມື່ອມີພຣະຊົນມາຍຸຄົບ 53 ພັນສາ), after the Sui Dynasty was collapsed, and T'ang Dynasty (唐朝 “ຮາຊະວົງຖັງ”) of Chinese was flourished (600s to 900s), then Chinese armies tried to sack the Nanzhao Kingdom for expansion, but NanChao was rebelled against the Tang Dynasty and defeated many times, due to strongly armies, bolstered by these successes, Nanzhao expanded rapidly, first into Myanmar (Burma), then into the rest of Yunnan, down into northern Laos and Thailand, and finally, north into Sichuan. In 829, Chengdu was taken; it was a great prize, as it enabled NanZhao to lay claim to the whole of Sichuan province, with its rich paddy fields. This was too much for the Tang Dynasty, who lost no time in counterattacking. NanChao was formed Kingdom of Dali (大理國) in 937.

2) Pre-Kingdom of Lan Xang

In A.D 757 after conquered wars in the southern of NanChao Kingdom, Khun Lô (Kolofeng “ຂຸນລໍ”) have found the new capital city of Tai-Lao tribes with less aborigine peoples of aboriginines inhabited land, named Swa city or Müang Xwa (Luang Prabang in the present), where located to the abundant plain land near the Mekong river, then King Khun Lô decided to relocated city of the Tai people, and proclaimed city as the new capital, then changed the name to be XiengDong-XiengThong Kingdom (the capital city called Xieng Thong) by the first Lao ruler, King Khun Lô, who have long vision for the Souvannaphoum

³³ In the story book of Thao Hung, Thao Chuong, the country of Khun-Lo was known as Muong Ka-Long (which in fact came from Kao-Long itself). This terminology has been found in an ancient poem which related the conquest by Khun-Lo of Muong Prakan (XiengKhouang) in Laos today, see also: Maha Sila Viravong (1957), and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, p. 8-9.

³⁴ Maha Sila Viravong (1957), and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, p. 25.

Pāthèt³⁵ founded, occupied the region before the arrival of the large group of Tai, Thai, Aiy-Lao,³⁶ and he has built another royal city, so that he would be far away from the Chinese disturbance. After he resettled the new city, then Tai tribes started to migrate from the north to southwards, Tai, Thai, Aiy-Lao races relocated at the Sawa (Xwa) city, some communities near rivers, along Mekong to the southern, and plateaus both east and west sides of Mekong (called the central part of Suvannaphoum Pāthèt “Land of Glory” region is Mekong Basin in ancient time) prominent kingdoms, such as Dali-Fu, Thaen (Kau Long), Sipsong Panna, SouvannaKhomkham, Candapuri (ViengChan), ViengKham (PhaiNam), Say Fong³⁷ (or XayPhong), Sikhôttabong, Khorath, Champa (Bassac), etc. Where the Tai-Lao mandala reestablished new city in the middle of those cities, named Xiang-Dong Xiang-Thong Realm (its capital Xieng Thong), then Capital city of the Lān Xāng Kingdom in 1353 by the King Chao Fā Ngum Maharaja (reigned 1353–1393), then the capital was moved and proclaimed Vientiane as the new Capital city of the Kingdom in 1560 up to the present by King Xaya-Setthathirath (or Setthathirath I or “ພະເຈົ້າໄຊຍະເລດຖາທິຣາຊ” in Lao, who reigned two Kingdoms, Lānnā Kingdom in 1546-1547 and Lān Xāng Kingdom in 1548–1571), at which time, Xieng-Dong Xieng-Thong was renamed Luang Prabang up to the present-day.

Accordance to the history of world, and various countries recorded that the various Mongol tribes became effectively consolidated in the huge territory at the beginning of the thirteenth century under a princeling named Temujin (1162-1227), who was acclaimed the universal chief (or Genghis Khan) founder the great Khan (emperor) by his followers in convocation of all the tribes and was elected grand 3rd son (Ögedei Khan 1186-1241) as Second Emperor, then the 3rd Great Khan Emperor Güyük Khan (1206-1248), the 4th Great Khan Möngke Khan (1209-1259) until the 5th Great Kublai Khan "or King Qubilai (Хубилай хаан in Mongolian or 忽必烈 in Chinese) 1215-1294" who over threw Sung Dynasty, then established the Yuan Dynasty in China (non-Chinese Emperor to conquer all of China)³⁸. In 1253 the armies of Kublai Khan attackend Kingdom of Dali (former NanChao Kingdom) subdued, collapsed, and incorporated it into the Yuan (Mongol) Chinese empire, which tried to extended the Khan's territory to the Southeast Asia (Northern provinces of Myanmar, Vietnam and Laos). During the Mongol marched down to the south invade various cities. But, Khmer power was already on the wane, by then both empires fugitives and then perished in 14th century. However, the Tai tribes at that early time did not flee from Chinese rule as a complete group or as an expelled nation, and some parts of the Tai peoples still remained under Chinese-ruled area, mostly in mainland, such Yunnan, Sichuan, Guizhou, Guangxi, Guangdong, Fujian, and extended to some isolated islands (includes Taiwan) in present-day.

At the same destiny, when the other Tai peoples (which scientists believed that the Tai people tend to have Y-DNA haplogroup O2a with moderate frequencies of *Y-DNA haplogroups* O2a1 and O1)³⁹ during migration, the name of Tai people known as Tai-Lao or Tai Luang (Great Tai) or Tai Yai (Big Tai) respectively in vary regions (countries) and mixed with the aborigine peoples in local areas (Lawa to Mon, Khmer, etc.) who were identified as Austro-Asiatic, such as ChiangRai, ChiangSaen, Ngoen Yang (City of Souvannakhomkham “a part of

³⁵ The area known as Souvannaphoum Pathet was precisely the area in which two priests, Phra Sonakab and Phra Utarah had first come to preach Buddhism in the year 307 B.C. during the reign of King Asoka Raja. Maha Sila Viravong (1957) and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, Chapter I (p. 3-5).

³⁶ Stuart-Fox, Martin (1997), *A History of Laos*, Cambridge University Press, (p. 7).

³⁷ The inscription is translated in Louis Finot (1903), ‘Notes d’épigraphie: L’inscription sanskrite de Say-Fong’, *BEFEO*, Vol 3, No 1, pp 18–33. See also Georges Maspéro (1903), ‘Say-Fong: une ville morte’ in the same volume, pp 1–17. Finot argued that ‘if the stele was erected where it was discovered, this would mean that at the end of the twelfth century AD the entire Mekong valley, at least as far as Vientiane, was under the authority of the kings of Cambodia’ (p 18).

³⁸ Atwood, C. P. (2004), *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*. p. 457.

³⁹ Y-DNA Human Migration (2006), sees also via: (http://www.kerchner.com/images/dna/ymdna_migrationmap).

the Golden Triangle in present”), Payao, Lamphun, then established of Lān Nā Kingdom (1292-1776), Sukhothai (1238), etc. but became Siamese vassal states, founder Uthong (Ramathibodi I) migrated to Ayutthaya (Aiy-Lao called Lān-phyā Kingdom 1350-1767), alongside Chao Phrya River, those all became Siam in 1600s and Thailand 1940s till present time, which mixed with Saa people, became Thai⁴⁰. Tai inhabited the Shan Plateau, upper Irrawady valley and other parts of modern-day Myanmar founded the Shan kingdom of Mong Mao (Müang Mao) which existed as early as the 10th century AD, but became a Burmese vassal state during the reign of King Anawrahta of Pagan (1044-1077), Hanthawaddy Pegu (Bago) 1287-1539, and Ava (Inwa) Kingdom (1364-1555) which those kingdoms was united to the Taungoo/Toungoo Dynasty during Bayinnaung’s Empire⁴¹ (1551-1581), Konbaung Dynasty (1752), and after three Anglo-Burmese Wars (1824-1885) Burma was ruled by British until independence in 1948 founded the Union of Burma. And Tai Ahom Kingdom or Kingdom of Assam (1228-1826) in Brahmaputra valley (located in Northeast India) which after the first Anglo-Burmese War (1824–1826) and the Treaty of Yandabo in 1826, control of the kingdom passed into British hands (East India Company).

The Kingdom of Xiangdong-Xiangthong after death of founder King Khoun Lô (Kolofeng “ຊຸນລ໌”) in 780, Khun Song who was succeeded him also followed his great father king, and who also cited as being the first of the prehistoric Lao monarchs (the royal families of Laos trace their lineage to him, after King Khun Bôrom) to continued the power of the new kingdom, led his people developed the Rajadharani Sri Sudhana (Müang Sawa or Xua or Xiangthong City).

A long list of successors, sometimes numbered at 22 kings⁴², reigned after King Khoun Lô to 23rd King Fa Ngum. But, there exact relationship and dates are not verifiable, till 1303 when the King Praya Lang was death. His successor, King Souvanna Kamphong (or Khun Luang Fa, so-called Chao Fa Luang Ngoam), he had 2 sons (princes). His grandson, named Chao Fa Ngum, who was born in 1316 and banished during political pressures and unclear conflict in palace, consequencely he was exiled to Southern along Mekong River with 33 servants. However, after 30 years he was ascended the throne after a war of succession, and later founded a new dynasty. He continued his military victories throughout his reign, extending his territories and absorbing lesser principalities. A new kingdom known as Lan Xang, came into being, incorporating large parts of present-day Thailand in the west and as far as Champa in the East. His Khmer wife introduced Theravada Buddhism from Ceylon, and Siamese wife, who played de facto ruler or tyranny of the kingdom and many kings of Lan Xang was assassinated during 1428-1438.

3) Kingdom of Lan Xang

Lān Xāng in Brief: The location of Lao people where living in the present-day called LanXang Kingdom since 14th century (A.D. 1353) with the wide area about 700.000 km² by King Fa Ngum (or Chao Fa NGum Maharaja “ພຣະເຈົ້າຟ້າງຸ່ມ ມະຫາຣາຊ”), till 18th century the reign of the last king of Lān Xāng when Chao Sai Ong Hue, Nephew of the great ruler King Suliyavongsa return from exile in Vietnam (proclaimed his name as King Setthartarat II of Lān Xāng on 1698 – 1706) in 1707 when the Kingdom was split into 2 kingdoms (Vientiane and Luang Prabang), and then broke to 3 kingdoms in 1713 (Vientiane, Luang Prabang, and Champasak) with the intervention of Ayutthya (Siam), then 1779 Siamese troop sacked and

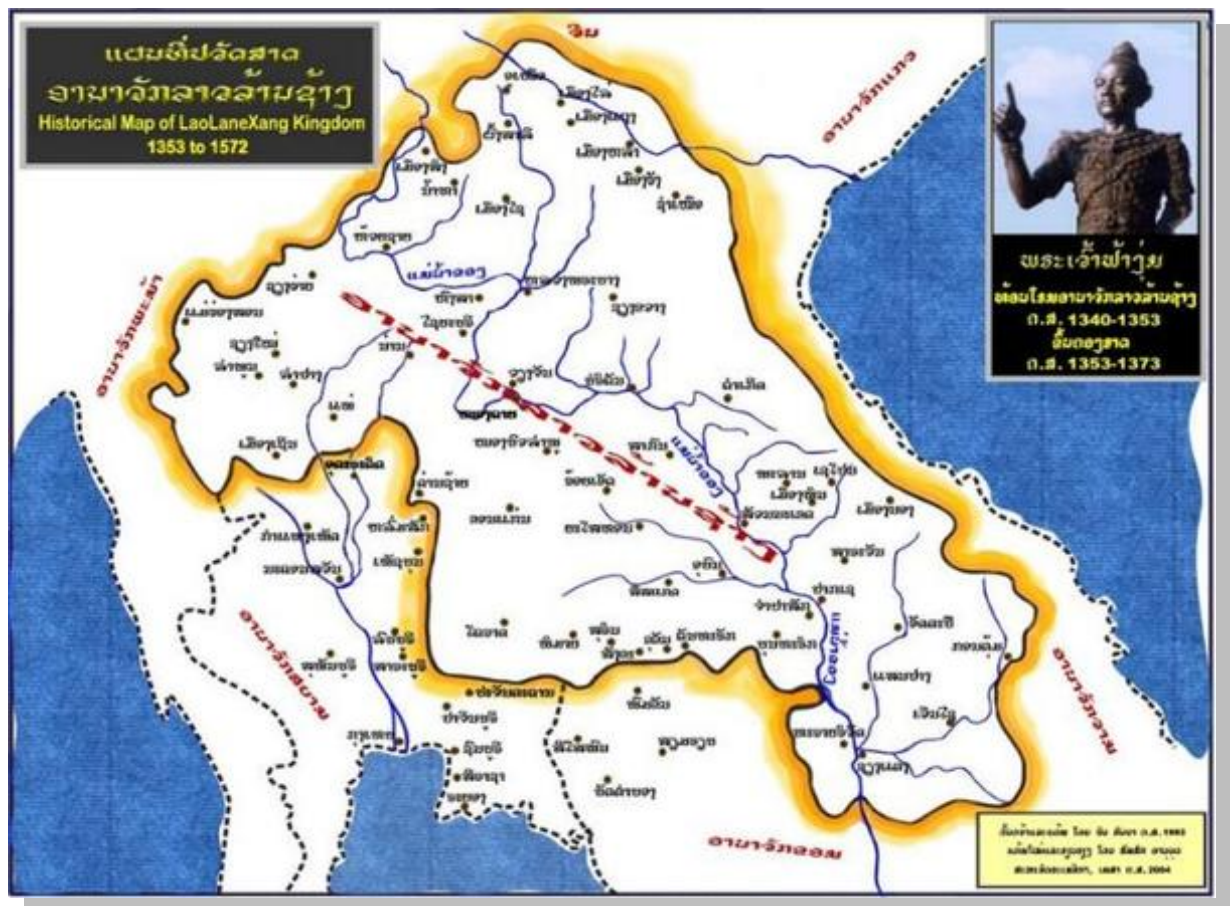
⁴⁰ Condominas, G.L. (1990), *From Lawa to Mon, from Saa’ to Thai: Historical and anthropological aspects of Southeast Asian Social Spaces*, Canberra, Australian national University Press, (This was a translation from an original French text).

⁴¹ Who assembled the largest empire in the history of Southeast Asia.

⁴² <http://www.royalark.net/>

destroyed Vientiane, taken various intellectual properties, auspicious images, statues of Buddha, including Prabang and Emerald Buddha 'PraKeo' to Bangkok, then taken LanXang as protectorates state of Siam, during Siamese king Rama I of Thonburi. After that, LanXang Kingdom was re-established during King Anouvong (Chao Anouvong; 1767-1829) who led the Laotians rebellion from Siam in an attempt to become once again independent from Siam (1826 to 1828), but had been quelled in estimated 24.000 Laotian soldiers perished. Siamese troop captured, burned palaces, city-walls, temples and destroyed everything in Vientiane in the second times, and transported Vientiane citizens and most of the population of the central Mekong to Siam (became 17 Northeastern provinces or Isān of Thailand), laid Vientiane as a deserted city to the ash, as the Siamese King Rama III ordered Vientiane destroyed. But, only one temple, Wat Sisaket was survived, due to unique temple.

Chao Anouvong (ເຈົ້າອະນຸວົງ in Lao, or เจ้าอนุวงศ์ in Thai) as the last monarch of the Lān Xāng Kingdom, who succeeded to the throne in 1805 upon the death his brother Chao Intavong, who had succeeded their father Phrachao Siribounyasan.



The recorded history of the Lao begins a hundred years after the fall of Nan Chao, with the reign (1353-73) of Fa Ngum, founder of Lan Xang. Fa Ngum, who according to legend was the 23rd successor of Khun Lô⁴³, had been exiled while still very young from Mūang Swa (prince of Mūang Swa) to the Court of Angkor, where he married a Khmer princess. Chao Fa Ngoum was a grandson of King Souvanna Khamphong (20th), prince (son) of Chao Fa Ngiao (21st), and nephew of Chao Fa Kham-Hiao (22nd king of XiengDong-XiengThong). Chao Fa Ngum was born in 1316, then was banished from the palace with 33 servants by boat, float along the Mekong River to the Southern for 1 year reached the Khone Phapheng (waterfall),

⁴³ LeBar F. Suddard A. (1960), Laos: its People, its Society, its Culture, HRAF Press New Haven, p. 10.

prince Fa Ngum lived, studied and spent most of time with a Buddhist Monk Teacher, named Phra Pasmanh in childhood, teenage, and then adult hood, Phra Pasmanh presents Chao Fa Ngum to the Khmer king at Angkor palace (Jayavarman Parameshvara 1327-1353)⁴⁴. The Khmer king treats Chao Fa Ngum as if he was Jayavarman own son, and then king presented his daughter (princess) to married with Chao Fa Ngum in 1349.

After death of King of XiengDong-XiengThong Chao Fā Ngiao (Prince of King Souvanna Kamphong), Chao Fa Kham-Hiao (brother), who succeeded the throne of XiengDong-XiengThong and proclaimed him as king, due to late king Chao Fā Ngiao heireless.

After adequately time, Chao Fa Ngum led 10.000 soldiers, which supports from the father-in-law Khmer King, Chao Fa Ngum united isolated cities during subduing and declining of Empire powers, especially to Mongol Yuan Dynasty of China, Pagan Empire of Burma, etc. Chao Fa Ngum fought starts from south to east, and from west reached to the north (includes PakKop, Champa, Sikhôtabong or KaBong, Candapuri or VienChan, ViengKhouk, ViengKham or PhaiNam, NongKhanThae, Roy-Et, Khorath, Phuane, Souvannakhomkham, Chiangsaen, Sipsong Panna, Sipson ChuTai), especially to the XiengDong-XiengThong Kingdom, but under ruled by his uncle king (Chao Fa Kham-Hiao), after king's troop was lost 3 times, consequently king himself was refused to engage and fight with his own grandson in battle, then he committed to suicide with his wife in palace by ate Nguān (traditional poison).

King Fa Ngum: The charismatic King Fa Ngum (1316-1374) or Chao Fa Ngum Maharaja “ພະເຈົ້າຟ້າງຸ່ມມະຫາຣາຊ” ຫຼື “ພະຍາຟ້າ ແຫຼ່ງຫຼ້າທ່ວະນີ ສີສັດຕະນາຄະທຸດ ປະຖົມກະສັດ ຂອງລາວລ້ານຊ້າງ”) was also a warrior, and the greatest king of the Lao empire of Lan Xang Kingdom (瀾滄王國 in Chinese, พระเจ้าฟ้าจุ้ม in Thai, ອານາຈັກລ້ານຊ້າງຣົມຂາວ in Lao), when the Prince Fa Ngum after returned from exile for 30 years in Kingdom of Khmer (Centered at Siem Reap or Angkor of Cambodia) brought with him ten thousands of soldiers to began grouping many Müang (townships) since 1349-1353 along the Mekong River from Southern to Northern and Western to Eastern. Prince Fā Ngum had the great victories on his beloved homeland, reestablished, and unified into the new Kingdom, Lan Xang (or LaneXang, Lān Xāng, or LāanXāang Kingdom) which was founded and proclaimed in 1353 A.D, basing the capital at Xieng-dong Xieng-thong (its capital city was renamed as Luang Prabang “ຫລວງ ພະບາງ”, meaning "City of the Lord (Buddha) of Fine Gold ‘ພະບາງ’" or literally: "Royal Buddha Image (in the Dispelling Fear mudra), in recognition of the Phrabang gift received from his majesty Father-in-Law Khmer King), and now known as Luang Prabang (Symbolic of the city called Phra Bang). In conclude, King Fa Ngum who is the first heroic king of Lan Xang, neither fear nor surrender to armies, sophisticated in campaign, war, perspicacious, mastery, virtue and venerable for all Lao descendant have to proud, follow, and develop homeland likes the idol king of Lan Xang and Laos in the present. During his reign, King Fa Ngum developed the beloved homeland to affluent, national defense from armies, and dynamic administrative ruler, construction, development and foreign relation were organized.

The legacy of Chao Fā Ngum (Prince of King Fā Ngiao), who is said to have been exiled from Xiang-Dong Xiang-Thong for reasons that are unclear but are quite likely to have included an attempt to seize the throne, either by his father or himself. By one means or another he made his way to Khmer. There at the court of Angkor (in Siem Reap) he eventually obtained (married) a Khmer princess Keo Keng Nya (Princess Kèo Kèngkanya), and an army with

⁴⁴ http://www.iseas.kr/info/revol_download.php?id=Lecture_Series&no=21&filenum=2.

which he fought his way back to Xiang-Dong Xiang-Thong, forcing the scattered various Müangs along his invasion route to accept his suzerainty. Chao Fā Ngum had ridden the white elephants (actually, pink or light red colours) as a symbolic of his military power, which vehicle for campaigning consists of huge number of fierce in strong elephants, horses, and also sophisticated warriors. Then, in the A.D. 1353 became the name of his kingdom, Lān Xāng, means: Land of the Million Elephants (शिसत्तनखनहुत् in Pali, Royaume du Million d'Éléphants in French).

The early frontier of Lān Xāng Kingdom after conquered many Kingdoms, zones, and Müangs, although it does not clear as the shifting power and frontiers relatively fluid at that time, new villages were bringing new land under cultivation, and territories was made via agreement, but due to many evidences had burnt, destroyed, and stolen by wars with feudal neighbors. However, area of Lān Xāng in early Kingdom under Empire of King Fā Ngum stipulated more than 700.000 KM² (ອານາເຂດຂອງພະຣາຊະອານາຈັກກວດລ້ານຊ້າງ ມີແມ່ນ້ຳຂອງໄຫຼຜ່ານທາງກາງ, ທິດເໜືອ: ຕິດຜາໄດຜາດ່າງ ສືບສອງພັນນາລີ, ທິດໃຕ້: ສົມໂບກສົມບູນ ປະເທດຂະເໝນ, ທິດຕາເວັນຕົກ: ມີກຣຸງສີອາຍຸດທະຍາສະຫຍາມປະເທດ ແລະ ທິດບຸຣະພາ: ໄມ້ລົມແບ່ງແດນແກວດບັນເຂດ), its cover wide area about 3 folds, if compares with remaining land in the present-day, and the Mekong River has flows through the central part of the Kingdom from north to the south. After defeated the Siamese, forced the king of Ayutthaya to promise tribute and hand of his daughter in marriage⁴⁵, good understanding agreement with the father-in-law Khmer king., and concluded treaties with Đại Việt on frontier: the watershed, and the way house were constructed. If people built their house on piles, they owed allegiance to Lao Lān Xāng; if on the ground to Đại Việt; Territory of Lao kingdom shall include the areas from TonSanSamNga to NamMaSamKheo or from HinSamSao to NamTaowSamKheo; The limitation procedures shall take into account the flow of the rain water from the mountains, that is to say that when it rains, the part of lands covered by the rain water running in the direction of Lao Lān Xāng territory, and the part of lands on which rain water flows in the direction of the Đại Việt territory shall be recognized as part of the Đại Việt dynasty⁴⁶. By recorded of the Lao history was stipulated the frontiers of Lān Xāng during the reign of Kingdom founder King Fā Ngum Maharaja are as below:

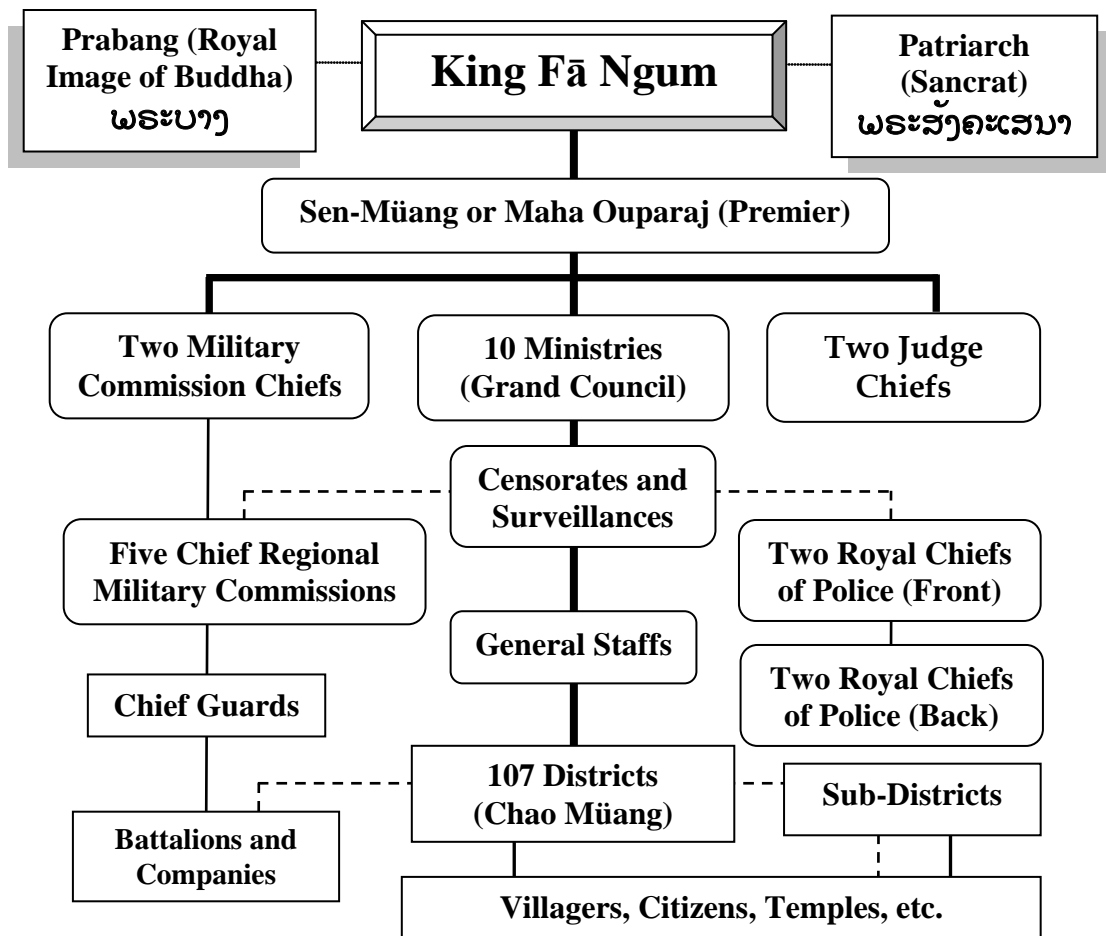
- Sip-Sông Phan-na (Sipsong Banna) and Ciang Hung (modern Yunnan Jinghong) to the north, Yuan Dynasty “元朝” (now is China);
- Xiang Tung (or Kengtung “Kyaingtong” in Burmese), Ava Kingdom to the northwest (now in Shan state of Myanmar);
- Sip-Sông Chu-Tai (Điện Biên Phủ) in Trần Dynasty or Đại Việt after invasion⁴⁷, to the northeast (now in Vietnam);
- Phou Luang (Annamite Chain) mountain with Kingdom of Chăm Pa to the east (now in Vietnam);
- Khorāth plateau to the west (now in the northeastern, so-called Isān region of Thailand);
- Xiang Taeng (‘City of Melons’) or Steung Treng (ស្ទឹងត្រែង ‘River of Reeds’ in Khmer) to the south (now in Cambodia).

⁴⁵ LeBar F. Suddard A. (1960), Laos: its People, its Society, its Culture, HRAF Press New Haven, p. 10.

⁴⁶ Maha Sila Viravong (1957) and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, Chapter V (p. 29); and see also Stuart-Fox, Martin (1996), *Buddhist Kingdom Marxist State The Making of Modern Laos*, White Lotus Co. Ltd., p. 7.

⁴⁷ Ngô Sĩ Liên (1993), *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (in Vietnamese) (Nội các quan bản ed.), Hanoi: Social Science Publishing House.

The Basic Polity of the Mandala Government of Lān Xāng Kingdom



King Fā Ngum of age 37 was ruled Lān Xāng Kingdom, the coronation title of King Somdetch Brhat-Anya Fa Ladhuraniya Sri Sadhana Kanayudha Maharaja Brhat Rajadharana Sri Chudhana Nega ‘ສົມເດັດພະເຈົ້າແຜ່ນດິນຟ້າງຸ່ມມະຫາຣາຊແຫຼ່ງຫຼ້າທ່ວະນິສິສັຕະນາຄະຫຸດ’. after Prince Fā Ngum officially became king, he reorganized the kingdom’s administration, giving the most important posts to those who were abandoned with him to Khmer kingdom and who had fought by his side in his long conquest: His step-father became Sen-Müang (Post equivalent to that of Maha Ouparaja ‘ມະຫາອຸປະຣາຊ’ or Prime Minister ‘ອັກຄະມະຫາເສນາບໍດີ ຫຼື ຮຽກວ່າ ນາຍົກຮັດຖະມົນຕີ’), and other step-mothers, step-uncles, step-brothers had the posts in the government of Lān Xāng. Which also said to the principal of new Kingdom polity have put into place the administrative structures that was held together the mandala of Lān Xāng Empire, consists of 10 Courtiers ‘ເສນາອາມາດ’ so-called Ministers or Department Secretaries, Staffs ‘ຂ້າຣາຊະບໍຣິໂພານ ແລະ ຂ້າຣາຊະການ’, and Chao Müangs ‘Chief of Districts or ເຈົ້າເມືອງ (ເຈົ້າພະຄອນ) in Lao’ throughout the realm in the 5th January 1354, proclaimed at central of Kingdom in XiangThong City ‘Luang Prabang in present’.

The government of King Fā Ngum was developed the ancient Mandala⁴⁸ of Aiy-Lao which had symbolic, characteristic and flourished since before migration of Tai tribes, a possibly mythical Tai kings under 3 notions, ① Taoism and Confucianism in that time, ② Brahmanism, and then ③ mixed with Buddhism, so-called **Lao Lān Xāng Mandala**, which shrouded in mystery and myth as the men of prowess of Aiy-Lao under the law “**Hid 12 Khong 14 (hid sip-song khong sip-sii)**” means, 12 month-rituals and 14-cutomaries Law)⁴⁹.

King Fā Ngum developed the ancient law became the Public Law of Lao Lān Xāng is written in three volumes. The first is called **Pra Tam Ra** (ພຣະຕຳຣາ), and contains the names, Functions, and Prerogatives of all the officers. The second is instituted, **Pra Tam Nan** (ພຣະຕຳນານ ຫຼື ພຣະ ຫຼື ນິທານວິຣະກຳຂອງບັນພະບູຣຸດ), and is a collection of the constitutions of the ancient kings, and the third is the **Pra Raja BunYhad** (ພຣະຣາຊະບັນຍັດ), wherein are the constitutions of the King’s orders or rules in specific areas (Appoints, dismiss, pardon, and so on) in conclude called **Institutions of Lao Lān Xāng Kingdom** (ເອີ້ນລວມວ່າ: ກົດໝາຍບົກຄອງພຣະຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວລ້ານຊ້າງຮົ່ມຂາວ).

Governmental organizations chart during King Fā Ngum’s Administration there are 10 Ministries or 10 Departments, due to the number of Tai-Lao Mandala which was derived and developed from the Khun Bôrom and Khun Lô in ancient time, the administrative heart of the central government was a group of Ten Courtiers’ Organizations of personnel, war, justice, public works, trade, revenue, rites, census, agriculture, and envoys, which saw to the implementation of imperial policies at the local level organized into district and villages.

As for the other cities and territories, he divided them into units knows as Kheuan-Müang, Kaeng-Müang and Müang-Dan (Main City, Supporting City and Outpost City in that order)⁵⁰.

Another policies, which stipulated on judgement during the King Fā Ngum reign Kingdom was divided into the upper and lower tiers (so-called central and local in present-day). The severe cases or execution Chao Müang (Chief of District) has to report to the Jude Chiefs for scrutinize, but another cases Chao Müang is the judge. The whole tribunal of judicature consists properly only in a single officer named Chao Müang, seeing that it is the chief or president only that has deliberate voice, after Chao Müang asked PhorBaan or NaiBān (Chief of Village), witnesses, and that all the other officers have only a consultative voice.

⁴⁸ Mandala (Sanskrit: मण्डल) is a spiritual and ritual symbol in Hinduism and Buddhism, representing universe as men of prowess, which built concentrations of political, economic and military power, where was borrowed notions of legitimating from Indian religions.

⁴⁹ The Law of the State is, that all Royal family members, Officers, Monks, Soldiers (includes guards), and Citizens should be hereditary, which developed from laws and rituals was used in Xieng-Dong Xiang-Thong, where the originally was derived from the Law of Khun Bôrom was anciently at Kingdom of NongSae or Kingdom of NanChao (NanZhao).

⁵⁰ Maha Sila Viravong (1957) and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, Chapter V, p. 35.

Celebration was celebrated (after campaigned, wars, and conquered 107 Müang in total) for 7 days on January 1356 at HuaMüang in Chanthaburi City 'Vientiane in present' killed 10 elephants, 1.000 cows and 2.000 buffaloes for ceremony). Which was basis used in over the next three and a half centuries, the frontiers of which were established through treaties with surrounding powers (Vietnam, Lāna, and Ayutthaya)⁵¹. In the other hand, a French diplomat Monsieur Simon de la Loubère's view the Law of Laos were as the Tradition is at Siam (Thailand in present), that their Laws and Kings came from Laos⁵².

King Fa Ngum stayed in Vientiane; King proceeded to the promotion and appointment of his valiant generals and troops as well as the reorganization of his kingdom's administration. The keynote of the internal policy of the king:

1. There shall be no thieves and no acts of banditry in our in our territory. There shall be no fighting and no unnecessary bloodshed among us all. Disputes shall be thoroughly examined and fairly judged. Life sentences shall be pronounced only as a last resort. Those found guilty shall be jailed and released after they have served their terms in prison, so they can resume their normal activities. There must be people in our land before we can produce the things we need;
2. Our people shall try at all times to avoid disputed and bloodshed and shall cooperate to the best of our ability to defend our territory against aggression from without;
3. Once every two months our people shall be given an audience with me, and our people shall report to me their suffering and successes. Once every three years our people shall come to me at Muong Xieng Thong and we shall together pray to all the guardian spirits of our lands for protection and benedictions. Those who fail in doing so shall be considered as unfaithful and undesirable and shall be punished according to the rules set forth by our great grandfather Chao Fah-Luang-Ngom;
4. Our people shall not make use of any of our subjects against the others for their own purposes, nor commit acts of adultery which are liable to heavy sanctions, and fines (five baths worth). Those found guilty of murder shall receive life sentences;
5. Ransoms shall not be asked from our prisoners of war. The mandarins shall not fine anyone for more than one hundred units, for if they did they themselves should be asked to pay such fines.

Having issued all these orders to his mandarins and subjects, King Fa Ngum returned to Muong Xiang Thong and arrived there on Tuesday, the third of the new moon of the year 1901 B.E. (1357 A.D.).

⁵¹ Stuart-Fox, Martin (1998), *The Lao Kingdom of Lan Xang: Rise and Decline*, White Lotus, (p. 7).

⁵² Simon de la Loubère's (1693), *A new historical relation of the kingdom of Siam*, (pp. 1-9).

His witticism in Lao to all Courtiers, subordinates, and citizens in ancient Lao language:

ພຣະກະແສດຳຣັຖ ຂອງ ພຣະເຈົ້າຟ້າງຸ່ມມະຫາຣາຊ

ສູ່ຈົກທັງຫຼາຍ ຜູ້ຮັກສາບ້ານ ຮັກສາເມືອງ

◆ ອັນທີໜຶ່ງ: ຢ່າໃຫ້ ມືຂ້າ ລັກ ຄົນໂຈນ.

◆ ອັນທີສອງ: ຢ່າໃຫ້ ຂ້າຜັນກັນ, ແມ່ນວ່າ ຂ້ອຍຕົນຜິດກໍດີ, ເມຍຕົນຜິດກໍດີ ຕົນຢ່າລ່ອນຂ້າຜັນເສຍ, ໃຫ້ຜູ້ໜຶ່ງພິຈາລະນາດູກ່ອນ ເປັນໂທດອັນໜັກ ຈົ່ງ ຕ້ອງເຫດເສຍ, ໂທດບໍ່ໜັກ ຢ່າໃຫ້ຂ້າ ຂວ່າໃຫ້ໃສ່ຄອກຂັງໄວ້; ສົມໂທດ ແລ້ວ ໃຫ້ບ່ອຍໄປຫາວຽກການ.

◆ ອັນທີສາມ: ໃຫ້ດູໝັ່ນຂະຫຍັນພຽນ, ຢ່າຄ້ານ, ໃຫ້ດຳຣົງໄວ້ແຫ່ງສີລະທັມ, ສົມບັດອັນຈະເກີດມີມາໃນແຜ່ນດິນນີ້ ຄັນມີຄົນ ສົມບັດກໍຈົມ, ຄັນບໍ່ມີຄົນ ສົມບັດເຂົ້າຂອງ ກໍຫາມໄດ້ແລ, ເຫດນັ້ນ ເຮົາບໍ່ໃຫ້ຂ້າ ຄືປະການນີ້ແລ.

ອັນໜຶ່ງ: ສູ່ຈົກທັງຫຼາຍ ຢ່າຜິດຂ້ອງກັນ ໃຫ້ພ້ອມກັນ ດູແລຄອກບ້ານ ຄອກເມືອງທັງມວນ, ອີກປະການໜຶ່ງ: ເມື່ອຕ່າງບ້ານຕ່າງເມືອງທັງມວນ ເຂົາ ຈະກະທຳບຸດບຽນບ້ານເມືອງເຮົາສົງໃດ, ກໍໃຫ້ຮູ້ໃຫ້ເຫັນແຈ້ງເດັດດ່ຽວ.

ປຸ່ຮົາ ເຈົ້າຟ້າຫຼວງໂງ່ມ ສັງໄວ້ ສປປ ມາ ດັ່ງນີ້ແລ.



Kingdom of Lan Xang organised into three territories and one principality, maintaining close ties with two northern confederations
 Kingdom of Lan Na
 Kingdom of Ayutthaya
 Former kingdom border
 Current national border

Source: based on M. Stuart-Fox, 1997



List of Lao Monarchs and some Chronology of Lān Xāng Kingdom, which The following is a list of kings of the Lao empire of Lān Xāng, founded in 1353 by King Fā Ngum. The reign of the last king of Lān Xāng Empire ends in 1707 (due to kingdom splits into the separate kingdoms into 2 kingdoms with the intervention of Ayutthaya, and 3 kingdoms in 1713), after death of King Souringa Vongsa in 1695, which turmoil and conflict in the court of Lān Xāng, till the reigned of king Setthartarat II in 1706, then the Kingdom was split into 2 kingdoms, Vientiane and Luang Prabang was separated from Vientiane by the King Kingkitsarat in 1707.

♦ 1353-1372 King Fā Ngum.

After death of queen Keo Keng Ya in 1368, then Siames queen Keo Lot Fa dominant in the palace, who aspiring to the throne of Lan Xang, after abdication King Fā Ngum in 1372 and died at Müang Nan, although there is no any evidence which does not verifiable the truth story or situation in the palace was in the chaos and turmoils after death of King Fā Ngum, his closed nobles, and his Buddhist Monk Prasmanh (Patriarch). Or had recorded, but all evidences was concealed by Maha Thevi or destroyed during wars with neighboring feudals, especially with Siam.

♦ 1372 Vutha Singsavaddy (Acting King).

♦ 1373-1417 King Sāmsaenthai or Chao Oun Heuan or Chao Oun Müang (son of King Fā Ngum father, with Khmer Queen Keo Keng Nya, mother who died in 1368). The origin of the name Samsenethai is thought to be a reflection of the political and social upheaval occurring within the area at the time of his rule. Samsenethai literally means "Lord of 300,000 Tai" thus reflected the result of the census conducted in his reign. It is unclear whether the census included the entire population or just men capable of bearing arms. There is also discussion as to whether during this period, the terms "Tai", "Thai" and "Lao" were interchangeable, whether "Thai" was used in his name to refer to the fact that the census included all Tai groups (so-called strategic name of Lao King at that time). For the duration of 43 year reign, Lān Xāng did not fight a single battle and many laws, especially to Administrative was invented, reformed, and developed to sustaining Fā Ngum's power, the Great King of Lān Xāng.

♦ 1417-1428 King Lān Khamdeng.

♦ In 1428-1438 period of confusion, the power behind the throne during 10 years was in behind the scenes of crisis, looms as the scheming female intruding in the male domain in the court of Lān Xāng succession after death of King Lān Khamdeng, some scholars also vary examines to the name of Nang Maha-Thevi⁵³, means "great queen, which honorary title reserved for the widowed queen", suspected such as Ayutthayan faction Keo Lot Fa (stepmother of King Samsaenthai 'ພະມານດາ ຜູ້ທີ 2 ຫຼື ແມ່ນ້າ'⁵⁴), Noy Hong Hieo (First queen 'ພະຊາຍາ ມະເຫສີ'⁵⁵), Ketkeo Kesi (younger sister 'ພະຄີນີ'⁵⁶), or Nang Keo Phimpha (his daughter)⁵⁷, however in Laos society looms and schemed Maha Thevi as story, Phi Kong Koi (Phi means, spirit or ghost), who drinks the blood of those she enthrall, discarding their drained and broken bodies on the banks of rivers, the circumstances which tyranny and perfidy of a female, who the de facto ruler of the kingdom and disturbances called Maha Thevi, who making and murdering succession kings of Lān Xāng such as: ① king Phommthat (1428-1429) soon became dissatisfied with his performance as king in 10 months and then she planned to have him executed to death, then ② king KhamTum (Nang

⁵³ Stuart-Fox, Martin concluded Maha Thevi is Ayutthayan queen Keo Lot Fa (Siames), see WHO WAS MAHA THEVI? *The Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. LXXXI, Part 1-2, 1993, p. 103-107.

⁵⁴ Amphay Doré. "Aux sources de la civilisation Lao (Contribution ethno-historique à la connaissance de la culture Louang-Phrabanaise)." Paris: Cercle de culture et de recherches laotiennes, 1987.

⁵⁵ Mission Pavie (1898), *Nithan Khun Borom* and the *Histoire du Pays de Lan-Chhang*, Hom Khao, p.42.

⁵⁶ Maha Sila Viravong (1957) and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, p. 41.

⁵⁷ Le Boulanger identified her as the eldest daughter of King Sam Sen Thai, see *Histoire du Laos Français*, 1931, p. 59.

Keo Phimpha's son) succeeded him in 1429, but after 5 months on the throne he was forced to abdicate, ③ king MeunSai, also called Youkhon (1429-1430) the second son of the late king Samsaenthai, king ruled for 6 months, escaped from palace, but was killed, ④ king KoneKham (1430-1432) son of late King Samsaenthai, ruled for 1 year and half ⑤ king Khaiy Buaban (grandnephew of late King Samsaenthai) ruled Xiangkhaiy (Phrya XiangKhaiy) ruled for 3 years, but was killed at the Sobkharn, ⑥ king Kham Tam Sa (1432) Phrya Park-Houiy-Luang, ruled 8 months, then escaped from the palace, ⑦ king LueSai (1432-1433) former name is Thao Lue-Sai (Phrya Meaun Ban Kabong), called Phrya Mueun Ban, ruled 6 months, but he chose to commit suicide rather than be killed by Maha Thevi, he died in the palace, ⑧ King Khai Bua Ban (1433-1436) grandson of late King Samsaenthai, he ruled for 3 years, but was assassinated, and ⑨ king Khong Kham or Khamkeut (Kham-Kert) ruled from 1436-1438 (son of female-attendant in the palace), he claimed to be a reincarnation of late King Samsaenthai. His reign was ended by his death, after ruled for 2 years from a fit in 1438. Consequently circumstance, the nobles had the wicked that female who named Maha Thevi (her age of 95) and her husband arrested them, and then put both to death.

- ◆ In 1438-1441 Interregnum time.
- ◆ 1441-1478 King Chaiyachakkaphat Phaenptheo (Sao Tiakaphat) or Chao Saya-Chakkaphat (in 1456 Phra Chao Saya-Chakkphaphat Phaenptheo) was a prince VangBuri, son of late king Samsaenthai. At the coronation ceremony of Phra Chao Saya-Chakkphaphat Phaenptheo, it was said that King Phra Inh-Raja of Si-Ayudhaya sent a large contribution of gifts and other valuables⁵⁸.
- ◆ In 1478-1479 Vietnamese under Lê Dynasty (Nhà Hậu Lê 1428-1788 during Chinese Ming Dynasty 4th dominant of Vietnam) invasion of Lăn Xăng.
- ◆ 1478-1485 King Souvanna BanLang (Then Kham), who defeated Vietnamese troops among their 4000 soldiers, only 600 survived fled back to Vietnam.
- ◆ 1485-95 King Lahsaentai Phouvanart.
- ◆ 1495-97 King Visounarat (uncle acting for King SomPhou).
- ◆ 1497-1500 King SomPhou (Samphou), but 3 years later he died.
- ◆ 1500-1520 King Visounarat (Vixunnaraja).
- ◆ 1520-1548 King Phothisarath.
- ◆ 1548-1571 King Setthathirath (King Xaya-Setthathirath or King Setthathirath I reigned two Kingdoms, Lännā Kingdom in 1546-1547 and Lăn Xăng Kingdom in 1548-1571), during his reign the kingdom's royal seat was based in Xieng-Thong city, then was renamed Luang Prabang when the Capital moved from Luang Prabang to Vieng Chan (Vientiane was proclaimed as the Royal Capital of Lăn Xăng Kingdom) in 1560.
- ◆ 1572-1574 after circumstance Xaya-Setthathirath was lost during campaign rebels in Müang OngKarn (now called Attapeu), then Phrya Saensourin Thaleuxay or Jarn Chan from NongKhaiy or Phrya Yhot Lue Kian (acting King of Lăn Xăng for Prince Grandson Noh Meung of the King Xaya-Setthathirath) after onflicted and killed Phrya ChanKongNang, then proclaimed himself as the Regent ‘ຜູ້ສຳເລັດຮາຊະການ’ and rule as king of Lăn Xăng in the 1st reign. But, during his reign, 1574 Burmese invaded kingdom in 2nd time (Lăn Xăng under Burmese sovereignty), and arrested Lăn Xăng Royalties, including King NohMeung to Irrawaddy of Toungoo Dynasty ‘ຮາຊະອານາຈັກຫົງສາວະດີ’).
- ◆ 1575-1579 Maha Oupahat (Phra Oupraraja Voravanso) younger brother of King Xaya-Setthathirath (ruled under Burmese sovereignty).

⁵⁸ Maha Sila Viravong (1957) and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, p. 43.

- ◆ 1580-1582 King Saensurin Thaleuxay ruled again after expelling the Burmese (after death King Bayinnuang in 1581), Phrya Saensurin Thaleuxay for a brief period of time changed name to King Soumangkhra Aiyako Phothisadh.
- ◆ 1582-1583 Phrya Nakhon Noi (son of Phrya Soumangkhra Aiyako Phothisadh) ruled less than 1 year. During his reign, citizen does not happy, then deposed.
- ◆ In 1583-1591 vacant period.
- ◆ 1591-1596 King Nohkeo Koumanh (or Phrya NohMeung, youngest son of King Xaya-Setthathirath, whom was arrested in Irrawaddy of Toungoo Dynasty since 2nd time of invasion), king NohKeo Koumanh died in 27 years old).
- ◆ 1596- 1622 King Voravongsa Thammikarath (Phra VoraPita).
- ◆ 1622-1623 King MomChai (Ouphayouvarat).
- ◆ 1622-1627 Ong Lor (ruled Sikhottaboura raja) or Phra Bandit Phothisaraja or Phrya Mahanam age 71.
- ◆ 1627-1628 King MomKeo or MormKeo (son of late king Voravongsa Thammikarath), and he had two sons as Prince ToneKham and Prince Vichai.
- ◆ 1628-1633 King Tonekham (had 3 sons: Somphou, BounSou, and Souriyavongsa).
- ◆ 1633-1637 King Vichai.
- ◆ 1637-1694 King Souriyavongsa Thammikaraja (or King Sourigna Vongsa or PhraChao Ong Luang) the greatest and last king of Lān Xāng, claimed the throne and re-established the independence of the kingdom. He established cordial relations with the Siamese King Narai at Ayutthaya, and this alliance was strong enough to ward off the Burmese and the Vietnamese for many years. Under his rule the kingdom became increasingly prosperous, and Viang Chan was endowed with many temples and palaces (of which few survive). The city became a great centre of Buddhist scholarship, with monks coming from Siam and Cambodia to study in its Wats (schools in temples). King Sourigna Vongsa had a son and a princess (Prince named Chao Ratsabout, who was executed by king himself under strictly for adultery, against the Law of Lao Lān Xāng Mandala, and a daughter, named Princess SoumangKhala, who fled to Ayutthaya and 3.000 followers (including the Abbot Yodkeo Wat Phon Smek) in February 1686, after his father ordered execution because he was found to be co-habiting with his half-sister with their full knowledge), and 2 daughters, Koumari (Hongkham), and Princess SoumangKhala (Chao Fa Nying), who had 2 sons OngLo and NohKasat.

Before Chao Ratsabout was executed, Crown prince Ratsabout already married to princess Chanthakummari was a sister of prince Inthakumman in province ChiangRung both they escaped here to LānXāng during the Haw war in the meanwhile prince Inthakumman took Lao girl than married her and they had a son as OngNok (Mom Noy), but Crown prince Ratsabout with princess Chanthakummari had 2 sons as prince Kingkitsarat and prince Inthasom.

The LānXāng Kingdom during King Sourigna Vongsa “ພະເຈົ້າສຸຣິຍະວົງສາທັມມິກຣາດ” reigned for 57 years, it considered the golden age of LānXāng in terms of territory, prestige and power. He ascended to the throne in 1637 after the nobles elected him over his two older brothers. He assured stability by immediately banishing any possible rivals, sending one of his brothers to Vietnam and the other one into a solitary priesthood, and sending his cousins west, towards Siam. He was a strict and austere monarch, and ran the country according to firm laws. He was greatly respected as a ruler, and within five years of his ascension, his reputation reached the Dutch representatives of the Dutch East India Company who were in Phnom Penh. The Jesuit Giovanni Maria Leria arrived in Vientiane at the same time as the Dutch merchants 1641 and received the first European envoys into Laos. Much of what we know about seventeenth-century Laos comes from the descriptions

of these visitors. Despite the disruptions that spanned the period from King Saya-Setthathirath's death to Sourigna Vongsa's ascension, LānXāng (but some Envoys called Langsiangh⁵⁹, likes Jeremias van Vliet), as Laos was called, apparently recovered very quickly. Both Van Wuystoff, the Dutchman, and Leria, who spent 6 years in Laos, were impressed with the nation's prosperity. Van Wuystoff noted the great number of monasteries and the monks, "more numerous than the soldiers of the King of Prussia." In contrast to his friend Narai, however, who received ambassadors with great pomp, wore splendid and elaborate vestments and enjoyed the use of the finest foreign luxuries—velvets and rich Persian carpets, Sourigna Vongsa wore no crowns, and preferred sitting on reed mats. Though the mats of Lan Xang, were evidently more beautiful than they are today; de Marini writes of them, for example, that "the weaving is so delicate and the ornamentation with patterns and various leaf-works so well done that, in my opinion, there is nothing more beautiful and more pleasing to the eye;" it is apparent from the accounts of the foreign visitors that the great king lived a far from decadent life. Rather, they noted that he distributed his wealth in the service of religion. John Philip de Marini, who recorded and published Leria's visit, noted that monks went from Siam to Laos "as to University." The support of a large idle population, the monkhood, which harmed Laos' national economic development, nevertheless impressed both visitors. The first chapter of Marini's account is subtitled, The Greatness, Riches and Power of Laos. Both described the free market and flourishing trade, which supplied Europe with gum benzoic, lac, musk ("the first musk that has appeared in Europe from this part of the world." - de Marini) and other products, and so on which they noted about Laos, such as Palace, houses, temples, etc.

The administration during King Sourigna Vongsa, many laws, rules, and palace-society's' rituals was stipulated under the Law of Lao LānXāng Mandala (ພັດທະນາກົດໝາຍປົກຄອງ ພຣະຣາຊະອານາຈັກລ້ານຊ້າງຮົ່ມຂາວໃນເມື່ອກ່ອນ ມາເປັນຄັ້ງພິທີມະສາດບູຮານ ຕາມຫຼັກສິນຫ້າຂອງພຸດທະສາສະໜາ ຊຶ່ງລວມທັງໝົດມີຮ້ອຍກວ່າມຸ່ງດຕຣາ), ມີການແບ່ງການບໍລິຫານສ່ວນກາງ ແລະ ສ່ວນທ້ອງຖິ່ນ ອອກເປັນ 7 ແຂວງ ແລະ ອື່ນໆ ອີກ.

After death of King Sourigna Vongsa in 1694 with was heirless, this was a chaotic time in LānXāng history where it completely collapsed with the kingdom splitting into 2 kingdoms (1707) and 3 kingdoms (1713) and was sacked and collapsed as Siamese vassal kingdoms (Siamese troop invaded since 1777-1779) and brought under Siamese control.

- ◆ 1695 King Phrya Muang Chan [Tian Thala] distinguished noble family unconnected to the Royal Family, he seized the throne, but ruled only 6 months.
- ◆ 1695-1696 King Ong Lo.
- ◆ 1696-1698 King Nan Tharat.
- ◆ 1698-1706 King Chao Sai Ong Hue, who proclaimed himself King Setthathirath II.

Chao Sai Ong Hue spent most of his early years as a prince of the royal house in exile at Hue (Vietnam) while his uncle King Suliyavongsa was King of LānXāng. His father Prince Som Phou fled to Vietnam upon the placement by the nobles of his younger brother Prince Suliyavongsa as King of LānXāng.

Upon the death of King Suliyavongsa, a person of Noble blood but with no royal lineage named Tian Thala (Phrya Muong Chan) ascended to the throne. Tian Thala was killed by soldiers of Prince Ong Lo. Then, in 1696 he was challenged by Prince Nan Tharat (son of Chao Pu, younger brother of late King Sourigna Vongsa), Chao Nan Tharat based his claim on his grandfather who was King Vichai, an uncle of Chao Sourigna Vongsa.

⁵⁹ Vliet, J.V. (1633, 1692, and 1910), *Description of the Kingdom of Siam*, Translated by Ravenswaay, L.F.V. (1910), p. 34-35.

However, Chao Nan Tharat failed to build up any substantial support and invalid by legitmise. Therefore, Chao Sai Ong Hue (son of Chao Som Phou, eldest brother of late King Sourigna Vongsa) came from Vietnam to attacked Vientiane, by with the aid of Vietnamese forces ousted King Nan Tharat, then took the thron as king and secured the city. In 1700 Chao Sai Ong Hue declared himself as King Sethathirat II, and in 1705 he moved the Prabang Buddha, sacred religious statue and symbol of royalty, from Luang Prabang to Vientiane. King Setthathirath II sent his brother to take the northern city of Luang Prabang from his cousin Prince Kitsarath, grandson of late King Suliyavongsa who refused to recognize his authority. Prince Kitsarath asked for assistance from the Siamese King and was granted independence from LānXāng, which divided into rival kingdoms at Vientiane (ViengChan) and Luang Prabang during his reign.

While the Cousin of Prince Kinkitsarath, another grandson of Suliyavongsa, Prince Nohkasat saw the opportunity to break away from LānXāng to the South, also granted independence from Siam to form the kingdom of Champasak, which further divided the Vientiane Kingdom.

King Sethathirat II (ruled since 1698-1730) had issue: three sons and one daughter. 1) Prince (Sadet Chao Fa Anga) Lankaya [Ong-Long], who succeeded as H.M. Samdach Brhat Chao Dharma Adi Varman Maha Sri Ungalankaya Chandrapuri Sri Sadhana Kanayudha, King of Lang-Xang Vientiane. 2) Prince (Sadet Chao Fa Anga) Bunya [Ong-Bun], who succeeded as H.M. Samdach Brhat Chao Maha Sri Bunyasena Jaya Setha Adiraja Chandrapuri Sri Sadhana Kanayudha [Bunsan], King of Vientiane. 3) Prince (Sadet Chao Fa Jaya) Guangnaya [Khuang-Na] who was appointed as Viceroy with the title of Samdach Brhat Chao Maha Uparaja 1730. 1) A daughter. m. 1699, Phra Chao Sarasak, Upayuvarama of Ayudhya, son of Phra Phetraraja, King of Ayudhya 1684–1698.

After separated Kingdom of Lān Xāng during 18th century, there are 3 kingdoms, as below:

(1) Kingdom of Vientiane or ViengChan (1707-1828)

Kingdom of Vientiane was formed in 1707 as a result of the split of the Kingdom of Lān Xāng. The Kingdom lasted until 1828 when it was annexed by Siam.

Kings of Vientiane Kingdom:

- King Setthathirath II (1707-1730);
- King Ong Long (1730-1767)
- King Ong Bun (1767-1778) (1st reign)
- King Supho or Phraya Supho (Siamese governor)
- King Ong Bun (1780 - November 1781) (2nd reign);
- King Nanthasen (21 November 1781-January 1795);
- King Intharavong (2 February 1795-7 February 1805) (crowned on 23 July 1795);
- King Chao Anouvong, so-called King Setthathirath III (7 February 1805-12 November 1828).

(2) Kingdom of Luang Prabang (1707-1946)

When the kingdom split, the Kingdom of Luang Phrabang was so weak that it was forced to pay tribute to various times to the Siamese, Burmese and Vietnamese. After a particularly destructive attack by the Black Flag wing of the Chinese Haw in 1887, the Kingdom of Luang Phrabang chose to accept French protection.

Kings of Luang Phrabang Kingdom:

- King Kitsaraja (1707-1713);

- King Ong Kham (1713-1723);
- King Ang or King Inthasen (1723-1749);
- King Inthara Vongsa (1749);
- King Inthaphom (1749);
- King Sotika Koumane (1749-1768);
- King Suriy Vongsa II (1768-1788);
- *Siam occupation (1788-1792)*
- King Anurutha (3 February 1792-1794) 1st reign;
- *Siam occupation (2 June 1794)*
- King Anurutha (2 June 1794 - 31 December 1819) (2nd reign)
- King Manthaturath (31 December 1819-7 March 1837) (Regent for Anurutha from 1817 until 31 December 1819; lives as a monk in Bangkok from 1825 until 1826, leaving Luang Phra Bang to be administered by Thai officials)
- King Unkeo (1837-1838) (Regent);
- King Sukha-Serm or Chao Sukha-Seuôm (1838-23 September 1850);
- King Chantha-Kuman (23 September 1850-1 October 1868)
- King Oun Kham (1 October 1868-15 December 1895); ruled under the French.
- King Zakarine or King Kham Souk (15 December 1895-25 March 1904); ruled under the French and who pushed for independence.
- King Sisvang Vong (26 March 1904-27 August 1946), king under the French, and who, when France granted Laos independence, became king of the whole country.

King Sisavang Vong was officially King of Laos from 15 September 1945

(3) Kingdom of Champasak (1713-1946)

Champasak broke away from Kingdom of Lăn Xăng in 1713 after Luang Prabang (1707) and this established the Kingdom of Champasak. The Kingdom was transformed into a principality in 1904, and continued to exist until 1946, when the Kingdom of Laos was formed.

Kings of Champasak Kingdom:

- King Nan Rath or Soysysamouth (1700-1713);
- King Nokasat (1713-1738);
- King Saya Kuman (1738-1791) (regent for Nokasat from 1725 until 1738);
- King Xiang Keo (1791);
- King Fay Na (1791-1811);
- King Nor Müang (1811);
- King Cha Nou (1811-1813);
- King Ma Noi (1813-1819);
- *Siamese-Vietnamese occupation (December 1819 - 1821)*
- King Rajabud Yo (1821-1827);
- King Hui (1827-1840);
- King Nak (1840-1851) (Regent for Hui to 1840);
- King Boua (1851 - 1852) (Regent);
- *Siamese occupation (1852-1856)*
- King Kham Nai (1856-1858);
- King Chu (1858-1860) (Regent);
- *Siamese occupation (1860-1863)*

- Chao Kham Suk (1863-28 July 1900);
- Chao Ratsadanay (28 July 1900-22 November 1946);
- Chao Boun Oum (June 1946-27 August 1946).



II During turmoil

For much of its history, Laos has been under the thumb of its neighbors - at various times such as the Chinese, Khmer, Burmese, Vietnamese, and Siamese (Thai), and west colonial since early settlement in China and inhabited in the new territory, by then established community as kingdoms, but those kingdoms was already oppressed and perished by them.

Laos sunk into the darkness, and under feet of foreigner powers, more than 2 centuries (240 years), 28 years by Vietnamese, 14 by Burmese, 116 by Siamese, 61 by French, 21 years domination of US secret war, and civil-wars (so-called period of Zero or Empty of Laos) since after ends of Lān Xāng Kingdom with isolation to 3 kingdoms, the rival, and closed feudal neighbor saw this chance to captured and sacked to 3 kingdoms. Neither Lao king had the means to object nor longer, did particularly Kingdom founder Chao Fā Ngum's mighty nation for 3 centuries, but came to the darkness and inglorious end. In 1763 came the greatest Burmese invasion yet seen, all Lao lands were conquered, including Siam fell (Ayutthaya 1767), but the Siamese staged an almost immediate recovery. Then, Siamese attacked the isolated 3 kingdoms of former LanXang, and took Laos to the annexed under Siamese since 1777 (Siamese troop invaded and devastated Laos since 1777-1779) which brought under Siamese control over Laos till 1893 when it became part of the French Indochina. In addition, during domination of alien's powers, Laos was still invaded by Burmese, Chinese gangs from Souther China "Haws or Hos", Annam "Vietnamese" and took control northern Laos).

Thus, when King Anouvong (1767-1829) King of Vientiane (Vieng Chan), who came to the throne in 1804, after he've seen many Laotians was killed, tortured by Siamese, and injected number to the body of every Laotians as slave census, there for he began to rebuild his kingdom's strength, treated country, and campaigned all Lao people to cracked the yoke and oppression of Siam; The secret of this mission, King Anouvong was campaigned via poem *San Leup Pasun* (*San Leup Borsoun*) "means, Extinguishing the Brilliance of the Sun" which Siamese didn't know the meaning. Although Chao Anouvong led the Laotian rebellion against from Siam Kingdom 1826-1828 in attempt to become once again independent, but one again 1827 Siamese, in counterattack, captured and sacked Vientiane, and transported most of the

population of the central Mekong region across the river into what was later to become northeastern Thailand, or Isaan. By 1828 the rebellion had been quelled. An estimated 24,000 Laotians perished as did some 7000 Siamese. Le Boulanger, Paul gave comments that the annals of Vientiane for the eighteen to early nineteenth centuries were completely destroyed and burnt everything by ordered the Siamese king in 1828. With the collapse of Chao Anouvong's rebellion, the independence of Laos came to an end. The precious Buddha idols "Prabang (Phra Bang Image)", "Prakeo (Emerald Buddha Statue)" and others valuables were taken to Bangkok, Chao Anouvong and all Lao loyalties was died as torture prisoner in 1829. During under Siamese domination Laotians in many parts from eastern to western, and from southern to north also tried to fight for liberty, such as Monks, Sa Khiat Ngong, and so on.

After that, French colonial invaded the region, Laos was became a protectorate of France in 1893 alongside with Cambodia and Vietnam, so-called French Indochina (during Auguste Jean-Marie Pavie). Many Lao ethnic rebellion groups tried to protect their basic rights as human being and also Lao citizen on the land of Laos, but was oppressed and killed. Such a revolt of Ong Keo (or Ong Kaeo) a self-proclaimed *phū mī bun* (holy man) who led a messianic cult; Ong Kommadam lieutenant Khmu, and other ethnic groups, Hmong, Tai, Lao, Thai, Lue, etc. prominent patriotic leaders, led by teacher Kham, Chao Muong Sing, Chao Fa Pachay, etc. Also called Laotians who love their homeland throughout country had fought for their freedom and release Laos from the invaders, but those troops was quelled by French armies.

During World War II, when Japanese spreads power in Asia, Laos might have drifted along as a pleasant backwater of the French Empire indefinitely had it not been for outside events that impacted nation sharply from 1940 onwards. In 1932, Plaek Phibunsongkhram, prime minister of Siam, overthrew the king and established his own fascist government in the country, which he later renamed Thailand (in 1939) with plans to unify all Tai peoples, including the Lao, under one nation. Following the Fall of France in June 1940, Laos came under the administration of the Axis-puppet Vichy France government along with the rest of French Indochina and the government was under Japanese supervision. In August 1940, an Axis-aligned Thailand attacked the eastern banks of the Mekong between Vientiane and Champassak Province. Both forces would later declare war and despite French victories, the Japanese government mediated a ceasefire and compelled the French colonial government to cede Champassak Province and Luang Prabang in Laos and Battambang Province in Cambodia to Thailand. These provinces would later be returned to their respective nations by Thailand after France threatened to block Thai entry into the United Nations following World War II.

In order to maintain support and expel both the Japanese and Thai, colonial governor Jean Decoux encouraged the rise of the Lao nationalist movement, the Movement for National Renovation, which sought to defend Lao territory while paradoxically, acknowledging French rule and support. The group also published a propaganda newspaper, *Grand Laos*, slamming Thai and Japanese policies over the Lao people and the ceded lands. In the south of the country, the Lao-Seri movement was formed in 1944 which unlike the Movement for National Renovation, was not supportive of the French and declared a "Laos for Laotians" policy aimed at achieving outright independence.

In March 1945, Laotian insurgency against the Japanese, Led by Crown Prince Savang Vatthana, Laotian insurgents challenged Japanese forces by carrying out attacks on Japanese officials and troops in Laos and many Lao died fighting with the French resistance against the Japanese occupiers⁶⁰. Japan continued to directly rule Laos despite constant civil unrest against

⁶⁰ Carine Hahn (1999), *Le Laos*, Karthala, p. 82-86.

it until it was forced to withdraw from the nation in August 1945, less than a month before it would fully surrender to the Allies.

To seeking the independence from invaders, following Japan's expulsion from Laos, Colonel Hans Imfeld of the provisional French government, entered Luang Prabang with a French-Lao force and freed French prisoners and Vientiane was later reoccupied. At the same time, Viet Minh forces fighting for Vietnam's independence from France enlisted a number of Lao to resist French rule⁶¹. Laos declared its independence in 1945, Prince Phetsarath, who aligned with the Viet Minh later, declared the French protectorate over Laos abolished and supported nationalist independence movements, particularly the Lao Issara. But, after declared independence on 12th October 1945 does not longer, French under Charles de Gaulle reasserted control Laos again in 1946 with bloody of Lao people. In order to avoid direct war with Laotian forces as in Vietnam, France agreed to proclaim Laos a self-governing state within the French Union in 1949. Following France's defeat at the Battle of Điện Biên Phủ in 1954, Laos was granted independence at the Geneva Conference in September of the same year⁶², then led to French had to withdraw from the region, then Laos has turmoil with civil war and unrest in politic and coalitions when intervened from outside powers attempted to devastate communist by wars and 3 million tons of bombs and mines, chemical weapons, high techniques armed forces, with huge amount, Hmong CIA as secret armies, allies troops, mercenaries supplied from a thai, Vietnam, South Korea, and so on. Thus, pity Laotians devastate and pressured from wars till 1975 the U.S was pulled out from the region after Vietnam War finished.

The losts and lives from wars and invasion, it cannot calculate to amounts and numbers in 20 centuries past, many Lao peoples of various ethnic groups who sacrificed their lives, personal interest, and their happy lives for the cause of the revolution, rebellion, and fighting for protected the homeland, devoted lives with no surrender till death, and seeking freedoms to develop the country of Laos; multi-ethnic Laotians had to left the motherland, were refugees and aliens to save lives and migrated to various countries in many parts of over around the world; however, Laos still maintain Laos, which never perish from the map of this blue planet.



Auguste Pavie negotiating with Laotian Princes

⁶¹ Philippe Franchini (1988), *Les Guerres d'Indochine*, tome 1, Pygmalion-Gérard Watelet, p. 250

⁶² Jean Deuve (1997), *Guérilla au Laos*, L'Harmattan, 1997 (1ere édition en 1966, sous le nom de Michel Caply), p.226; and Carine Hahn (1999), *Le Laos*, Karthala, p. 88-89.



Auguste Pavie (1847-1925) et Pierre Lefèvre-Pontalis à Luang Prabang (1867-1887) during French expedition to Laos, after already control Vietnam, and Siam must now deal with France. In 1890 French colonial rule of Laos begins, French-Siam atreaty is concluded in 1883 that acknowledges French control over Mekong territory; 1930 France officially designates Laos as a French colony, and during 1940-1945 all Lao territories west of the Mekong (17 Provinces) are given to Siam (Thailand) up to the present.

Pavie went on to become consul in 1889 and consul general in 1891⁶³. In 1887, Luang Prabang was sacked by Chinese and T'ai bandits, hoping to liberate the brothers of their leader Đèo Văn Trị, held prisoner by the Siamese (On 7 June 1887 the Lao royal capital was seized and sacked); Pavie prevented the capture of the ailing local ruler King Oun Kham by ferrying him away from the burning city to safety in Bangkok, Siam, thereby winning his gratitude and building his trust in French colonial plans, which were to be one of Pavie's major preoccupations from 1888 onwards⁶⁴. Pavie subsequently established friendly relations with Đèo Văn Trị, negotiating the release of his brothers; as a result a protectorate treaty was signed with the French in 1889 making Đèo Văn Trị Lord of Lai Chau, the main town in the feudal Black River region of Tonkin that he controlled⁶⁵. Pavie referred to this kind of diplomacy as *la conquête des coeurs* [the winning of hearts], which became the title of his autobiography.

In 1892 he became resident minister in Bangkok, and played an important role in the gunboat diplomacy of the Franco-Siamese War in 1893, which resulted in the establishment of the French protectorate over Laos.

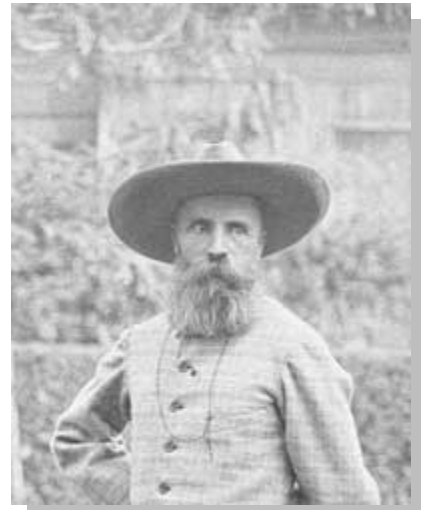
⁶³ Osborne, Milton (2006), *The Mekong: Turbulent Past, Uncertain Future*, Allen & Unwin, p. 129–134.

⁶⁴ Ooi, Keat Gin (2004), *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia, from Angkor Wat to East Timor*.

⁶⁵ Michaud, Jean; Ovesen, Jan (2000), *Turbulent Times and Enduring Peoples: Mountain Minorities in the South-East Asian Massi*, Routledge, pp. 51–78.



King Oun Kham
(King of Luang Prabang, reigned 1872-2887 &
1889-1895)



Auguste Jean-Marie Pavie, during
"Missions Pavie" conducted over the 16
year period 1879-1895 during which
Pavie, accompanied by his assistants,
would explore the whole Indochinese
Peninsula.



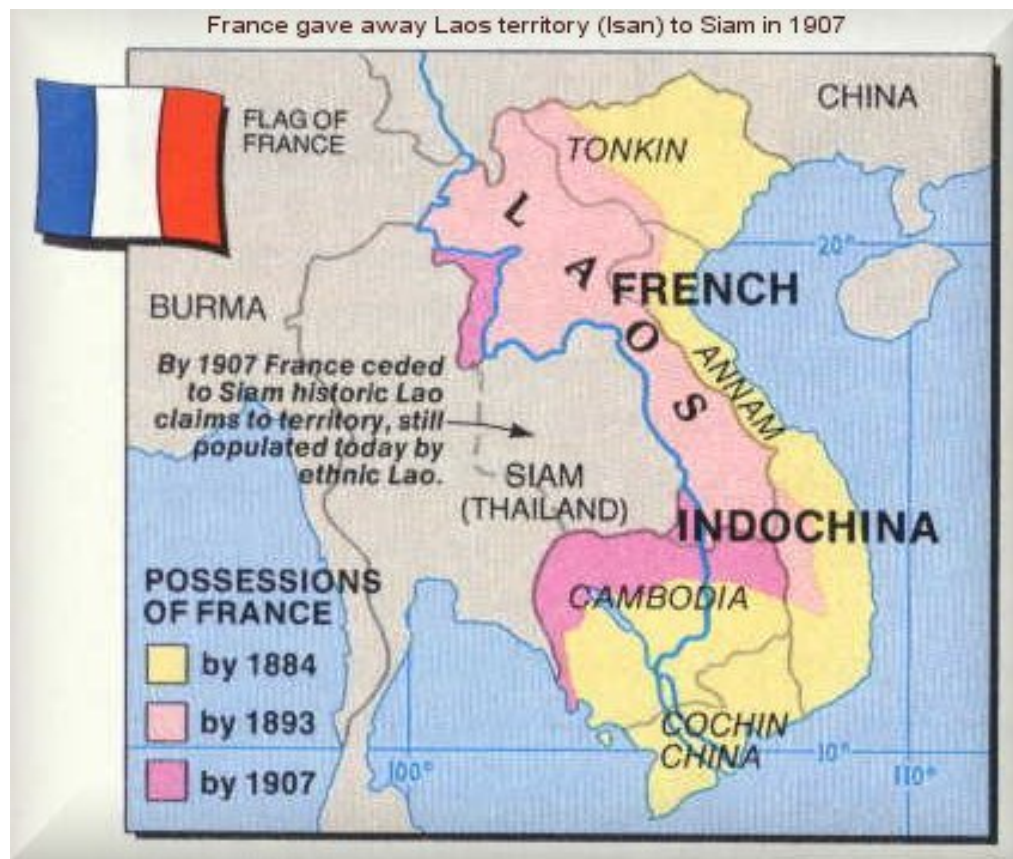
Siamese army in the disputed territory of Laos in 1893



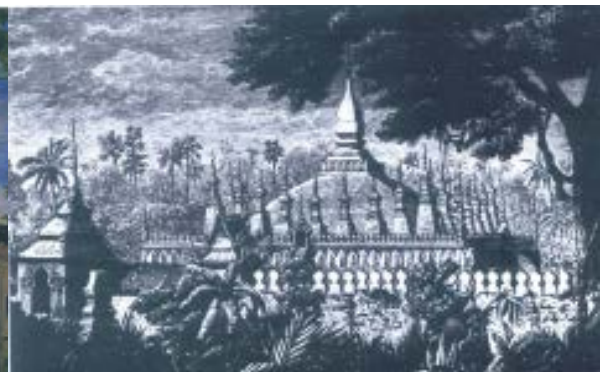
French army in Laos 1893

Territorial conflict in the Indochinese peninsula for the expansion of French Indochina led to the Franco-Siamese War of 1893. In 1893 the French authorities in Indochina used border disputes, followed by the Paknam naval incident (July 1893, French warships bombarding the Siamese fort), to provoke a crisis. French gunboats appeared at Bangkok, and demanded the cession of Lao territories east of the Mekong River. King Chulalongkorn appealed to the British, but the British minister told the King to settle on whatever terms he could get, and he had no choice but to comply. Britain's only gesture was an agreement with France guaranteeing the integrity of the rest of Siam.

In exchange, Siam had to give up its claim to the Thai-speaking Shan region of north-eastern Burma to the British, and cede Laos to France.



Courtesy by <http://savannanet.com>



III Kingdom of Laos

The Kingdom of Laos ‘ພະຣາຊະອານາຈັກລາວ’ was a sovereign state under Monarchs (King Sisavang Vong, latter King Sisvong Vattana) and administrative by the Royal Government of Laos (RGL) with multiple political parties from 15th September 1945 (after World War II) and 1953 (after French Indochina Protectorate) until 2nd December 1975 when the Pathet Lao (means, Land of Laos, patriotism movement) overthrew the Royal Lao Government and established the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LAO PDR up to the present). Given self-rule in 1949 as part of a federation with the rest of French Indochina, the 1953 Franco-Lao Treaty finally established a sovereign, independent Laos, but did not stipulate who would rule the country. In the years that followed, three groups led by the so-called Three Princes, contended for power: the neutralists under Prince Souvanna Phouma, the right-wing party under Prince Boun Oum of Champassak, and the left-wing Lao Patriotic Front, called the Neo Lao Hak Sat (NLHS) under Prince Souphanouvong and future Prime Minister Kaysone Phomvihane.

The earliest of Royal Government of Laos was led by Prince Phetsarath Rattanavongsa (1890–1959) or Somdej Chao Maha Oupahat Pethsarath Rattanavongsa (Viceroy or Vice-King Phetsarath Rattanavongsa, the first and last vice-king of the Kingdom of Laos). Chao Phetsarath was the First Prime Minister of the Royal Laos Kingdom since 1942, but officially from 15 September to 14 October 1945.

Maha Oupahat Phetsarath is known as a colonial modernizer and anti-colonial nationalist; several western writers acknowledge him as the ‘father of Lao nationalism’ and as ‘the seminal figure in the development of Lao nationalism’⁶⁶, yet it is surprising how little attention has actually been paid to understanding the man, his ideas and his contributions to the making of modern Laos. An unsigned, hagiographical account of the Prince was published in Thai in 1956. Entitled ‘Iron man of Laos’, its publication coincided with Phetsarath’s return from exile in 1957. More recently, Lao authorities allowed the sale of a biography of Phetsarath, penned years ago by his long-time associate, Maha Sila Viravong, it has subsequently been translated into Thai and German⁶⁷. While the historical value of these two biographies is undeniable, both accounts were written decades ago by actors close to the Prince and sympathetic to his ideas⁶⁸, and also not surprisingly in Lao societies almost respects him, although he have been pass away (brain hemorrhage) haft century already, but in part because of his popularity and in part because of his perceived saksit powers (originate in the animist sect), many Lao people still hangs his pictures in their homes, good-luck charms for whom believes possessed magical powers are widely popular in Laos, also in his homeland Luang Prabang, and the compound of his palace (called hotel XiengKeo) where I’ve visited in 2010 and impressed, the old palace itself has been renovated and transformed to be the museum.

⁶⁶ 3349 (1978), *Iron man of Laos: Prince Phetsarath Ratanavongsa*, translated by Baldwin Murdoch, John (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Data Paper, edited by David K. Wyatt, p. xi; Martin Stuart-Fox, *Historical dictionary of Laos* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2001), p. 236.

⁶⁷ 3349 (1956), *Chao Phetcharat burut lek hoeng ratchanachak Lao* [Prince Phetsarath – iron man of Laos] (Bangkok: Ruam Mit Thai, 1956); Maha Sila Viravong (1996), *Chao Mahaupalat Phetsalat* [His Highness Viceroy Phetsarath] (Vientiane: Social Science Committee, 1996); Maha Sila Viravong (1999), *Chao Phetcharat burut lek hoeng ratchaanachak Laos* [Prince Phetsarath – iron man of Laos], translated by Sommai Premchit (Bangkok: Matichon Press, B.E. 2542 or A.D. 1999); and Maha Sila Viravong, *Prinz Phetsarat: Ein Leben für Laos. ‘Eine Biographie von Chao Maha Uparat Phetsarat’ und ‘Die Geschichte des 12. Oktober 1945’*, translated and edited by Volker Grabowsky (Münster-Hamburg-London: Lit. Verlag, 2003). (Note that although the 1999 Thai translation of Maha Sila Viravong’s biography has the same title as the 1956 book by ‘3349’, they are not the same work).

⁶⁸ Ivarsson S. and E. Goscha Christopher (2007), *Prince Phetsarath (1890–1959): Nationalism and Royalty in the Making of Modern Laos*, *Journal of Southeast Asia Studies*, 38 (1), p. 55-81 February 2007, the National University of Singapore, (United Kingdom). P. 55-56.

Chao Phetsarath established the system of ranks and titles of the civil service, promotion and pension plans, and created a Lao consultative assembly, reorganized the king's Advisory Council. Phetsarath reorganized the administrative system of the Buddhist clergy, and established a system of schools for educating monks in Pali. He created the Institute of Law and Administration to train entry level officers (Samien) who would then move up the ladder as Phouxouei, Chao Meuang, and Chao Khoueng successively. He set up rules to reward, reassign, and promote deserving civil servants, and created the judicial system, including civil and penal codes.

King is the Head of State (King Sisavangvong), Administered by the Prime Minister, the first royal government of Laos Kingdom, led by Prime Minister Phetsarath Rattanavongsa, so-called Council of Ministers President, the executive organizations (departments, although there has been a recent tendency to use the term 'departments', but Laotian usually called 'Ministries') which consists of 11 Ministries were:

1. Ministry of Interior;
2. Ministry of National Defense;
3. Ministry of Public Works, Planning, Transports, and Telecommunication;
4. Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
5. Ministry of Justice, Culture, Sports and Youth;
6. Ministry of Finance, Agriculture, and National Economy;
7. Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts;
8. Ministry of Public Health;
9. Ministry of Public Welfare and Veterans Affairs;
10. Ministry of Information, Propaganda, and Tourism;
11. Ministry of Reconstruction and Urbanization;

Names of Provincial level:

1. Vientiane;
2. NamTha Province;
3. PhongSaly Province;
4. SamNeua Province;
5. Luang Prabang Province;
6. Xiengkhuang Province;
7. Xayaboury Province;
8. Khammuane Province;
9. Savannakheth Province;
10. Saravane Province;
11. Attapeau Province; [and]
12. Champasak Province.

The local administration, there are 4 tiers: Province, District, TaSaeng (sub-District), and Villages.

Prince Phetsarath played a dominant role in Lao politics before and after the Japanese occupation, head the Lao Issara [Free Laos or Lao nationalists or Lao Nationalism], on 8 April 1945 Japanese forced King Sisavang Phoulivong (Sisavangvong 1885-1959) declared Lao independence from French Indochina (during Japanese domination 大東亜共栄圏 'Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere'), by then Japanese surrendered to Allies on 15 August (ends of World War II on 2 September 1945), Prince Phetsarath proclaims unity and independence of Laos on 15 September (after Democratic Republic of Vietnam 'DRV' or North Vietnam was founded on 2 September by President Hồ Chí Minh) from France, which

marked the reconstitution of the modern Lao state⁶⁹, proclaimed earlier at the instigation of the Japanese, the Lao ruler had decided to gamble Laos' political future on the return of the French; on 30 August, he declared the French protectorate to be still valid. Unlike his Vietnamese counterpart Bảo Đại (the 13th and final emperor of the Nguyễn dynasty was abdicated on 25 August 1945), he refused to recognize his country's national independence without a French green light. On the 12 October 1945 Prince and supporters of Laotian independence was announced (in the present-day called the liberty proclamation day, alike marches on 23 August in 1945 and 1975), proclaimed the independence, and unity of Laos under its national authority, so-called ruled by Lao nationalism (Lao Issara) which was an anti-French, non-communist nationalist movement.

Chao Phetsarath was the leader of the Laotian and Vietnamese territory from French, he attempted to supplant officials in Laos and Vietnam, but in the regions of Vietnam, the resistance from the local proletariat was too strong⁷⁰, the effort was subsequently halted. As was the case in Vietnam, the presence of Chinese troops in Laos did not last for long. In February 1946 French troops returned to northern Indochina as an immediately, French attack on the North Vietnam (DRV) and Laos, on March (the day of bloody 21 March 'ໄວ້ໂບບະໂຍກ'), this battle left the Lao Issara government to fend for itself, with helping from Vietnamese but militarily weaker in comparison to the French, then French re-occupied Thakhek (Khammuane Province) in a bloody attack and moved northwards to retake all of Laos by May (French protectorate over Laos) after end of April the French took Vientiane and Luang Prabang. Subsequently, Prime Minister Phetsarath and the Lao Issara government crossed the Mekong to take up exile in Thailand⁷¹, at the same fate his half-brother Prince Souphanouvong was shot by French troop in battle at Thakhek in severed case, and had to flee to Thailand for treatment.

Once the re-conquest was complete, the French set about reconstituting their administration in Laos. In 27 August 1946, the French formally endorsed the unity of Laos as a constitutional monarchy within the French Union, in 1947 (May 11) Lao Constitution was promulgated, making Laos a constitutional monarchy, and elections for first National Assembly was held on August, Prince Souvannarath forms government of Kingdom of Laos.

There were also French efforts made at conciliation with the nationalists. Discreet overtures toward the Lao Issara in Bangkok suggested the possibility of an amnesty. Gradually, a division of opinion appeared within the Lao Issara ranks over the practical issue of whether to cooperate with the French. Prince Souphanouvong had made clear his refusal to accept the new political set-up in Vientiane, and was ready to embrace an alliance with the Viet Minh against the French. This repelled most of his colleagues, who began to oppose Chao Souphanouvong's leadership in the Lao Issara.

⁶⁹ Stuart-Fox, Martin (1996), *Buddhist Kingdom Marxist State The Making of Modern Laos*, White Lotus Co. Ltd., p. 35.

⁷⁰ Maha Sila Viravong (1999), *Chao Phetcharat burut lek hoeng ratchaanachak Laos* [Prince Phetsarath – iron man of Laos], translated by Sommai Premchit (Bangkok: Matichon Press, B.E. 2542 or A.D. 1999).

⁷¹ Ivarsson S. and E. Goscha Christopher (2007), *Prince Phetsarath (1890–1959): Nationalism and Royalty in the Making of Modern Laos*, *Journal of Southeast Asia Studies*, 38 (1), p. 55-81 February 2007, the National University of Singapore, (United Kingdom). p. 70.

On 20 January 1949 patriotic in forest Kaysone Phomvihana forms the Latsavong detachment, armed force of Pathet Lao, the genesis of Lao People's Liberation Army (LPLA 'ກອງທັບປະຊາຊົນລາວ') after Lao Issara government-in-exile was dissolved, 3 Princes (Phetsarath, Souvannaphouma, and Souphanouvong) and members return to Laos, and joint the revolutionary troop in XamNeua and Phongsaly Provinces, but Prince Phetsarath stilled in Thailand to maintained nationalist at this historic conjuncture to evoked the possibility of some sort of union with Thailand (Free Thai) s-called Lao-Thai Isaan to creating a 'Greater Lao Nationalism'.

By the time in Vientiane on 19 July 1949 Laos gained partial independence from France, whom already gave away half of LanXang kingdom (17 provinces) to Siam (Thailand), Sipsong ChuTai to Vietnam, 'Sipsong Phan Na' to China, and 'Strungten' to Cambodia. On 7 February 1950 United States recognizes Laos as independent state, but unrests and conflict among political parties still occurs in daily, then August 1950 Prince Souphanouvong returned from treatment in Thailand (Prince Phetsarath returned in March 1957), he convened the first congress of the Lao Freedom Front (Neo Lao Issara) more generally known as the Pathet Lao (Indochinese communist movement) and 22 March 1955 formation of Lao People's Party (or Lao People's Revolutionary Party in present-day) to committed core Marxist revolutionaries. Then, he was the chairman of the Neo Lao Issara (since January 1956, renamed Neo Lao Hak Sat 'Lao Patriotic Front' or Lao Front for National Construction in present-day).

List of Premiers during the Kingdom of Laos were:

№	Name (Birth-Death, and title)	Term start	Term end	Political party
1.	Prince Phetsarath Rattanavongsa (1890-1959) Viceroy and Prime Minister	15 September 1945	20 October 1945	Non-party
2.	Phaya Khammao (1911-1984) Chairman of the Provisional Government, Prime Minister	20 October 1945	23 April 1946	Lao Issara
3.	Prince Kindavong (1900-1951) Prime Minister	23 April 1946	15 March 1947	Non-party
4.	Prince Souvannrath (1893-1960) Prime Minister	15 March 1947	25 April 1948	Non-party
5.	Prince Boun Oum Na Champasak (1912-1980)	25 March 1948	24 February 1950	Non-party
6.	Phoui Sananikone (1903-1983) Prime Minister	24 February 1950	15 October 1951	Neutralist
7.	Prince Savang Vatthana (1907-1978) Prime Minister	15 October 1951	21 November 1951	Non-party
8.	Prince Souvanna Phoumma (1901-1984) Prime Minister	21 November 1951	25 October 1954	National Progressive Party
9.	Katay Don Sasorith (1904-1959) Prime Minister	25 October 1954	21 March 1956	National Progressive Party

10.	Prince Souvanna Phoumma (1901-1984) Prime Minister	21 March 1956	17 August 1958	National Progressive Party
11.	Phoui Sananikone (1903-1983) Prime Minister	17 August 1958	31 December 1959	Neutralist
12.	Sounthone Pathammvong (1911-1991) Army Chief of Staff	31 December 1959	7 January 1960	Committee for the Defence of the National Interests / Military
13.	Kou Abhay (1892-1964) Prime Minister	7 January 1960	3 June 1960	Non-party
14.	Prince Somsanith Vongkottrattana (1913-1975) Prime Minister	3 June 1960	15 August 1960	Committee for the Defence of the National Interests
15.	Prince Souvanna Phoumma (1901-1984) Prime Minister	30 August 1960 (from 9 December 1960, in exile in Phnom Penh, Cambodia)	13 December 1960	Lao Neutralist Front
16.	Quinim Pholsena (1915-1963) Prime Minister, but not recognized	11 December 1960	13 December 1960	Peace and Neutrality Party
17.	Prince Boun Oum Na Champasak (1912-1980) Prime Minister	13 December 1960	23 June 1962	Non-party
18.	Prince Souvanna Phoumma (1901-1984) Prime Minister	23 June 1962	2 December 1975	Lao Neutralist Front
Noted trivia, Between December 1959 to December 1960, Laos had six different Prime Ministers, who were ousted by six successive political coups ⁷² .				

List of Premiers during the Lao people's Democratic Republic were:

№	Name (Birth-Death, and title)	Term start	Term end
1.	Kaysone Phomvihane (1920-1991) Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Prime Minister	3 December 1975	15 August 1991
2.	Khamtai Siphandone (1924-) Prime Minister	15 August 1991	24 February 1998
3.	Sisavath Keobounphanh (1928-) Prime Minister	24 February 1998	27 March 2001
4.	Bounnhang Vorachit (1937-) Prime Minister	27 March 2001	8 June 2006
5.	Bouasone Bouphavanh (1954-) Prime Minister	8 June 2006	23 December 2010
6.	Thongsing Thammavong (1944-) Prime Minister	23 December 2010	Incumbent

⁷² <http://www.smh.com.au/opinion/politics/four-climate-change-positions-in-one-day-20110309-1bnu3.html> (visited on August 17, 2011).

IV Civil war

After Geneva Agreement was signed (or Geneva Accords 20 July 1954 to determine the future of Indochina, after 1 year of Korean War armistice), the cease-fire in Laos had come into effect on 6 August 1954, French troops and Vietnamese 'People Volunteers' withdrew, Kwang concluded that, Laos became the most neutral country in Asia in that its neutrality was recognized and guaranteed by governments of all persuasions (including the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, France, Canada, India, Poland as well as its immediate neighbors: China, Thailand, Burma, North and South Vietnam, and Cambodia). It forswore military alliances (including the SEATO protection), foreign military base on its soil, and the use of force which might impair international peace. Indeed, it could have become a Switzerland in the heartland of Southeast Asia⁷³.

The circumstances after Geneva, dissatisfaction insofar as concerns, Phuy Xananikon (leader of consevterive bloc of deputies in the National Assembly) returned from Geneva in August, but it was not until 18 September that three members of the gang slipped across the Mekong, evaded police surveillance, and made their assignation attempt while Phuy was holding a dinner at his house, Phuy himself was only slightly wounded by a grenade, but one of his guests, Ku Voravong, the Minister for Defense, was shot and killed. That the attempt on Phuy's life and the death of Ku were part of a plot to destabilize the government became evident in the days that followed, as several other government ministers received death threats. The government was plunged into crisis. Though the actual assassins managed to cross back into Thailand, forty suspects were arrested⁷⁴.

The election was held 1955 Lao People's Party was formed in February; then after formation of Lao Patriotic Front (Lao Front of National Construction) was established in January, the 2nd Souvanna Phouma government was formed, and negotiations with Pathet Lao to form coalition government succeeded in 1956, then the First Coalition Government was formed in 19 November 1957 with arrival of Pathet Lao, due to the tenacity and political skill of Souvanna Phouma himself⁷⁵.

Supplementary elections was held on 4 May, result in leftist gains, formation of US-backed right-wing Committee for the Defense of the National Interest (10 June), Suspension of US aid forces resignation of Souvanna Phouma (22 July), then formation of right-wing government (18 August) under Phoui Sananikone.

The First Coalition Government of the National Unity of Laos was established in 1958 (19 November) under Prince Souvanna Phouma, but collapsed after two months. The Prime Minister, who under the constitution appointed his ministers and received advice from the King, made a deal with his half-brother Prince Souphanouvong and Prince Souvanna Phouma. In 1959 (27 July) after forced integration of Pathet Lao forces fails, then arrested Pathet Lao leaders in Vientiane⁷⁶, 29 October King Sisavang Vong died, then King Sisavang Vattana succeeds to the throne (30 October to 2 December 1975).

⁷³ Kwang In Kai (1980), *The Neutralized-unification of Korea in Perspective*, p. 71-78.

⁷⁴ Stuart-Fox, Martin (1997), *A History of Laos*, Cambridge University Press, (p. 87).

⁷⁵ Maha Sila Viravong (1957) and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*, Chapter V (p. 29); and see also Stuart-Fox, Martin (1996), *Buddhist Kingdom Marxist State The Making of Modern Laos*, White Lotus Co. Ltd., p. 42.

⁷⁶ There are sixteen Neo Lao Hak Sat (NLHS) leaders, but 10 months later (May 1960) all leaders won over their guards likes miracle, and then made their escaped back to the Pathet Lao headquarters in Samnuea Province by safe.

Coup d'état on August 9, 1960 led by Kong Le (former paratrooper captain in the Royal Lao Army) in a nearly bloodless coup, which takeover Vientiane, the paratroopers had unwittingly chosen a moment when the entire cabinet was in Luang Prabang conferring with King Sri Savang Vatthana. They informed their compatriots and the outside world by broadcasting their communiqués on the radio. In a rally at the city football stadium on August 11, Kong Le expanded on his goals: end the fighting in Laos, stem corruption, and establish a policy of peace and neutrality. Recalling the experience of the first coalition when the country was temporarily at peace, Kong Le asked for the nomination of Souvanna Phouma as Prime Minister (16 August), but 13-16 December battle in Vientiane occurs. 1961 Neutralist-Pathet Lao forces seize Plain of Jars (January), Kennedy administration announces US support for neutralization of Laos (23 March) and Geneva Conference on Laos opens (16 May).

1962 crushing rightist defeated at battle on Namtha (Luang Namtha) in May, on 23 June the Second Coalition Government was formed with US support, and yet it lasted no longer than the First. Stuart-Fox gave some reasons, the instability of Lao politics, the weakness of the power base of the neutralist centre, but most of all because in the face of changing international circumstances, the interests of key 1962 Geneva signatories, notably the US and North Vietnam required that Lao neutrality be systematically subverted by North Vietnam required that Lao neutrality be systematically subverted by both powers. The shell remained because it was in the interests of all to maintain the pretence of Lao neutrality⁷⁷, but it was entirely without substance⁷⁸.

1963 assassination of Kinim Phonsena signal de facto collapse of second Coalition government (1 April), and conflicts in Indochina with the overthrow and murdered of President of South Vietnam Ngô Đình Diệm (2 November) during a coup d'état that deposed his government. Both North Vietnam and the United States interfered directly in Lao affairs, in contravention of the Geneva Agreements. North Vietnamese units took over defense of the eastern border areas, through which ran the network of infiltration routes from North up South Vietnam making up Hồ Chí Minh trail, entirely independent of the command structure of the Royal Lao Army⁷⁹; 1964 Pathet Lao drive Neutralists from Plain of Jar, and US bombing of communist targets in Laos begins; 1966 political crisis leads to new elections; 1968 combined force of the North Vietnamese Army and the Lao People's Liberation Army (renamed in 1965) take Nam Bak, and Pha Thi; 1969 Hmong 'Secret Army' forces take Plain of Jars (September), over 15,000 Hmong guerrillas, group in special guerrilla units, and ten times that number of civilian refugees, most of them Hmong⁸⁰.

In addition to Hmong 'secret bases' in Xiang Khuang and Xam Neua, notably Vangpao's headquarters at LôngChaeng, guerrilla groups were established in Namtha (or Luang Namtha) Province using Hmong, Mien and increasingly Khamu recruits reinforced by Thai and Nationalist Chinese mercenaries supplied from Thailand base wastefully; 1970 combined forces of the North Vietnamese Army and the Lao People's Liberation Army retake Plain of Jars (February), in 1971 South Vietnamese forces launce operation Lam Son 719 against Hồ Chí Minh trail; heavily defeated (Febraury); Hmong under Vang Pao resist Pathet Lao - North Vietnamese advances; in February Second Congress of the Lao People's Party was held and LPP was renamed Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP); 1972 to early 1973 RLG and

⁷⁷ Not everyone believes maintenance of a semblance of Lao neutrality was in the best interests of the US. See Norman Hannah, *The Key to Failure: Laos and the Vietnam War* (Boston: Madison, 1987).

⁷⁸ Stuart-Fox, Martin (1996), *Buddhist Kingdom Marxist State The Making of Modern Laos*, White Lotus Co. Ltd., p. 45.

⁷⁹ Clearly stated in conversation with his son-in-law: Stieglitz (1959), *In a Little Kingdom*, p. 211.

⁸⁰ *Documents sur le 25e anniversaire de la foundation du parti Populaire Révolutionnaire Lao* (Vientiane, 1980), p. 9.

Pathet Lao begin negotiations for cease-fire, resulting in Vientiane Agreement signed in 21 February 1973, cease-fire was proclaimed and bombing by United States ends.



Third Coalition Government was forming and signed in a detailed protocol on 14 September 1973 providing for an interim government of equal parts for 'the Vientiane Government side and the side of the patriotic forces'⁸¹, government takes office by the royal decree on 5 April 1974 as Provisional Government of National Union (PGNU), National Political Consultative Committee (National Political Consultative Council "NPCC") adopts Eighteen-points Political Program (24 May), during August 1974-November 1975 Fighting resumes, General VangPao, senior rightist ministers, and generals leave for Thailand; the situation in the region also agitated, and demonstrations; in Laos, the campaigns was organized to claim the country to be free, no war, and peace, especially in Vientiane landmarks (23 August) was officially liberated without resistance; Lao People's Liberation Army liberates 2 provincial capitals, and reeducation centers (seminar camps) was opened for orientation; then the Revolutionary Administration takes power in Vientiane, control over four-fifths of the national territory, one-third of the population, negotiated for parity in cabinet positions with the Vientiane parties, and the election was held for local people's councils.

On 1-2 December 1975 the Congress of People's Representative was held in Vientiane declared unanimity dissolved PGNU and NPCC; King Savang Vatthana was abdicated, and proclaimed the Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPDR), under the now publicly heralded Lao People's Revolutionary Party, former Prince Souphanouvong becomes the first president, head of state, and Mr. Kaisone Phomvihane serves the first prime minister of Lao PDR.

⁸¹ 'Document' (1973), *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 1973, p. 244-253.



The Pathet-Lao Leaders founded the Lao People's Party 22 March 1955, after Lao Issara movement led by Prince Phetsarath was disbanded, and fled to Thailand as provisional government in exile; the Neo Lao Hak Sat (NLHS) so-called Lao Patriotic Front was formed in 6 January 1956.

V Laos after Revolution

The ability of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party to campaign the formation of revolutionary administration in 1975 from central, local, and international arena to seize power from the ultra-rightist reactionaries was cause to proclaim the new regime.

There is almost rarest blood in Laos during liberation, unlike other countries, where almost violence, conflicts, strikes, unrests, turmoil, and citizens was killed as bloody situation.

Since the Lao PDR was established on 2 December 1975, Laos the former pro-Western, monarchical regime was replaced by a government that espoused a Marxist-Leninist political philosophy, the national motto is Peace, Independence, Democracy, Unity, and Prosperity. The multi-ethnic Lao people have carried out difficult and arduous struggles full of great sacrifices until they managed to crush the yokes of domination and oppression of the colonial completely liberated, thus opening a new era, the era of genuine independence for the country and freedom for the people (4 million). The head of state ruled by President Souphanouvong, the head of government administrated by Prime Minister Kaysone Phomvihane, and the government structure on this early term, just a little bit reshuffled some ministries, but mostly still continued the old regimes' structure of government during the Congress of People's Representative (1-2 December 1975) were:

1) Machinery of Government, comprised of 12 Ministries and 05 Equivalent Organizations to Ministries

1. Council of Ministers;
2. Ministry of National Defense;
3. Ministry of Foreign Affairs;
4. Ministry of Justice;
5. Ministry of Finance;
6. Ministry of Education, Sports, and Religious Affairs;
7. Ministry of Interior, Veteran, and Social Welfare;
8. Ministry of Media Broadcasting, Culture, and Tourism;
9. Ministry of Communication and Transport;
10. Ministry of Public Health;
11. Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry, and Rural;
12. Ministry of Post and Telecommunication;
13. Ministry of Industry and Commerce;
14. Committee of State Planning;
15. Committee of Central Multi-ethnic Groups;
16. Committee of State Bank;
17. Committee of Information and Newspaper.

2) Member of Government

The members of government consisted of the Prime Minister (Chairman of the Ministers Council), Deputies of Prime Minister, Ministers, Heads of the Equivalent Organizations to Ministries, and the Bank Governor.

Provinces

1. Vientiane;
2. HuaKhong Province;
3. NamTha Province;
4. PhongSaly Province;
5. SamNeua Province;
6. Luang Prabang Province;
7. Oudomxay Province; (*New province 1976, splits from Luang Prabang Province*)
8. Xiengkhuang Province;
9. XayabouryProvince;
10. Borikhan Province;
11. Khammuane Province;
12. Savahnakheth Province;
13. Saravane Province;
14. Attapeau Province; [and]
15. Champasak Province.

The Local Administrative division, Pursuant to the Law on Local People's Assembly and People's Administrative Committee (101/SPA, 31 July 1978), there are 3 tiers:

- Country divided into Province, and City;
- Province divided into District, and Provincial Municipality, and City divided into District;
- District divided into TaSaeng (sub-District, or Commune “ໜ້າເມືອງ”), and District Municipality.

After the National Congress of People's Representative, this marked the change of regime from constitutional monarchy to communist People's Republic, and set the direction of future political, social and economic development. The new regime was widespread international recognition, not only from communist bloc states, but also from United States and

its allies. Euphoria of victory, mission to fight with obstacles, and gave the vision that the way of country to achieve in the near future, the goal, as frequently stated, was to 'advance, step by step, to socialism without going through the stage of capitalist development'⁸², a proposition Marx himself would have found difficult to endorse. The party believed it would be possible to do this by simultaneously pursuing 'three revolutions', the theoretical exposition of which was taken from Vietnamese Marxism⁸³. As the party's Secretary-General Kaisone Phomvihane explained, these consisted on the revolution in the relations of production, the scientific and technical revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution. Of the three, the first was 'guide', in that it would form the economic base on which Lao socialism would be constructed; the second was the 'key' to this transformation, since it would provide the transfer of technology necessary to by-pass capitalism and create a modern industrial economy; while the third was always to be a 'step ahead' of the other two, in forming Lao socialist men and women ideologically committed to socialism and thus bringing about the desired socialist transformation of Lao society and the Lao economy⁸⁴.

These were the ideological convictions that animated the party leadership. While the full transition to socialism would obviously take time and encounter difficulties, the necessary means were at hand in the form of the 'people's democratic dictatorship', to be exercise by the party, and the governmental structures of a fully fledged 'people's democratic republic', the models for both of which were taken from the Soviet Union.

The Party had already prepared itself to exercise its 'historic role' at its Second Party Congress in February 1972; the Congress agreed upon not only tactics that led to formation of the Third Coalition government, but also the broader strategy by which the transition to socialism was to be achieved. In organizational terms, the previously rather *ad hoc* structure was formalized to provide for Political Bureau, a Secretariat to handle every day Party affairs, and a Central Committee, with associated special committees concerned with such matters as propaganda, inspection and control, and ideological training of cadres. The party structure was also formalized at each administrative level (province, district, and village) and in the army and mass organizations (the Lao Patriotic Front, and women's, workers, and youth organizations). Indeed Kaisone had good reason to characterize the second Congress as 'one of the most important events' in the country's history, marking 'the political and organizational maturity of our Party'⁸⁵. Membership of the central organs of the Party was not immediately revealed in 1972, but the structure was in place to seize the advantage offered by the events of 1975⁸⁶.

Economy

The situation in early after liberated (1975), the country is confronted with formidable obstacles to exploiting these opportunities: lack of infrastructure, lack of manpower skills and lack of domestic and foreign saving.

The problems were exacerbated when in October 1976 an army coup d'état overthrew the moderated, democratically elected Thai government and replaced it with a strongly anti-communist regime and provocation to Laos, then raised tension along the Thai-Lao border, and trade restrictions prevented a list of 273 so-called "strategic items", including everything from aviation fuel and cement to bicycles and medicines, from reaching Laos from north to south.

⁸² See, for example, Foreign Broadcasts Information Service, *Daily Report: East Asia* (hereafter FBIS), 24 March 1976.

⁸³ Amphay Doré (1982), 'The Three revolution in Laos', in Stuart-Fox, ed., *Contemporary Laos*, p. 101-115.

⁸⁴ Phomvihane Kaisone (1980), *La Révolution Lao*, p. 200-210.

⁸⁵ Phomvihane Kaisone (1980), *La Révolution Lao*, p. 36.

⁸⁶ Stuart-Fox, Martin (1997), *A History of Laos*, Cambridge University Press, p. 168-170.

The situation in southern Laos with escalating conflict between Vietnam-Cambodian borders during 1977 led the Khmer Rouge regime in Phnom Penh to break diplomatic relations with Hanoi, and then 25 December 1978 Vietnamese forces invaded Cambodia to overthrow the Khmer Rouge government of Pol Pot. Consequently, China's February 1979 incursion into northern Vietnam⁸⁷.

The government has adopted new policy program directions, incorporated in the New Economic Management System (originally is New Economic Policy 'NEP', in Russian: Новая экономическая политика, НЭП, *Novaya Ekonomicheskaya Politika* 'ນະໂຍບາຍປັບປຸງເສດຖະກິດໃໝ່' was an economic policy proposed by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who called it state capitalism. It was a new, more capitalism-oriented economic policy necessary after the Civil War⁸⁸, used in Soviet 1921-1928, but was transformed to use in Laos as NEMS 'ລະບົບຄຸ້ມຄອງເສດຖະກິດມະຫາພາກ') instituted policies of incremental market liberalization, culminating with the New Policy, which are designed to remove some constraints of hardship in country, and neighbors' monopoly. Deregulation of pricing and markets has created new incentives for state enterprises (which have also been delegated greater autonomy) and for the private sector, whose contribution to development is now more fully appreciated.

Since the Second Round Table Meeting held in 1986, the government and the donor community have broadened their contacts, and there is a better understanding of the development potential of Lao PDR. New investment opportunities have been identified through the preparation of master plans, sectoral studies and elaboration of project ideas. The UNDP-financed Southern Area Development Master Plan identified over sixty projects. Many others have been identified within the framework of the Mekong Basin Development program. Other multilateral and bilateral donors are engaged in identification of projects and are undertaking feasibility studies. In 1987 the Government convened a local Round Table Meeting in Vientiane, with UNDP support, to strengthen coordination among aid donors. The positive results of this meeting have facilitated preparations for the third RTM, which comes at a time of growing economic and political stability in this Asian sub-region.

Globally, communist states are in the throes of radical economic reforms (notable exceptions being North Korea and Albania), and Laos too has been caught up in the process. The Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) began to change direction in late 1979, but its most fundamental policy reorientation came after 1985. These dramatic shifts inside world communism have led to considerable confusion about the nature of socialism itself, and questions long buried in the socialist tradition have re-emerged to be hotly debated. What looks like a crisis in world socialism from one angle is from another viewpoint a rediscovery of the diversity of socialist thought.

Since 1986 the government has focused its attention on implementing its NEMS to introduce new vigor into national economic performance. The NEMS is an integral part of the government's development strategy, as it emerged from the recognition that controlled planning should give way to a more flexible system of indicative planning and decentralized economic management to introduce economic reforms bringing about greater efficiency and profitability in economic enterprises and thereby helping to achieve the objectives of the five year plan.

⁸⁷ Stuart-Fox, Martin (1997), *A History of Laos*, Cambridge University Press, p. 175-181.

⁸⁸ Kenez, Peter (2006). *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 47-48.

Since the 1990s, the government again centralized its public administration, this time not for the march to a dubious socialism, but the road to an uncertain capitalism. Henceforth, local administration was to reflect the policies of the central government. In line with these reforms, Resolution 21 of the Politburo clarified the roles and responsibilities of central ministries in relation to their field offices and local authorities. The government re-attached all provincial and district technical staff to their respective national ministries⁸⁹.

These were heretical ideas during the tyranny of Stalinism, and they were only rediscovered, and in some cases reinvented, by Polish, Hungarian and some Soviet economists in the late 1950s and early 1960s (leaving aside socialist economists in the West). Bukharin has only recently been rehabilitated in the USSR, and Trotsky and others are waiting in the wings. Therefore when the Lao began looking for new economic policies in 1979, they began, as good orthodox communist, with Lenin's NEP articles. Subsequently, however, the LPRP has become more acquainted with alternative approaches to socialist planning through debates in Eastern Europe, and from Soviet advocates of reform⁹⁰.

The Government Structure changes in each period of each Prime Minister's tenure.

Since established the Lao People's Democratic Republic in the 2nd December 1975 up to the present, the Lao government had changed in the structure, machinery and management (ministry and equivalent to ministries reshuffles) were:

Governmental Organizations in Absolute Changes⁹¹							
Year	Ministry	Council	Prime Minister Office	Government's Office	Committee	BOL	Authority, Agency, Academy.
1975-1985	12	1	-	-	6	-	-
1985	19	1	-	-	6	-	-
1986-1990	16	1	-	-	6	-	-
1991-2000	13	-	1	-	1	1	-
2001-2005	13	-	1	-	1	1	-
2006-2010	14	-	1	-	-	1	-
2011	18	-	-	1	-	1	1

Remark: above number was counted specifically to the ministry level merely.

Socio-economic Development Plans in the Lao PDR

Socio-economic Development Plans in Lao PDR was developed into Two Periods, such as:

- ◆ 1st Period: Centrally-planned System (starts 1976-1985)
- ◆ 2nd Period: New Economic Policy was launched, names "New Economic Mechanism (NEM) 'ກົນໄກໃໝ່ໃນການຄຸ້ມຄອງເສດຖະກິດ' or New Economic Management System

⁸⁹ Soukamneuth J. Bounlonh (2006), *The Political Economy of Transition in Laos: From Peripheral Socialism to the Margins of Global Capital*, Cornell University, p. 86.

⁹⁰ Zasloff, Joseph Jeremiah (1991), *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*, p. 67-86.

⁹¹ *The Lao Government Directory 2006-2010* (Lao), Public Administration and Civil Service Authority (PACSA), Prime Minister's Office (PMO), Vientiane, 31st December 2010.

(NEMS) ‘ລະບົບຄຸ້ມຄອງເສດຖະກິດມະຫາພາກ’ is the period of transition to a Market-Oriented System ‘ກົນໄກເສດຖະກິດຕະຫຼາດເປັນຈຸດສຸມ’ starts 1986 to the present-day, well-known is New Imagination Policy, or New Thinking Policy, or Innovative Thinking Policy ‘ຈົນຕະນາການໃໝ່’.

- ❖ **THE FIRST PERIOD**, called Centrally-planned System (1976-1985) durations of Planning: one year, 3 years and 5 years. After the Central Committee passes the Resolution of the Lao People’s Revolutionary Party on May 1976 which guidelines (embarks) for establishing the Socialist Revolution phase. Then, 18 July 1977 the 25-Year Lao-Vietnamese Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation was signed.

Plan starts from 1976-1977 was the first annual plan of the new regime which was aimed at recovering the economy after the war, improving the living standard of the people, recovering the agricultural and industrial production allowing people to make their living, and protecting and developing the nation and new regime peacefully. Then, on January 1978 is the interim of 3-years economic development plan was begins.

Three-year Plan (1978-1980), the objectives of the plan were to:

- Reconstruct the nation after the war; administration reforms from the central government to local authorities, which SPA was enacted, such as: Law on Council of Ministers; the Law on Local People’s Assmebly, and People’s Administrative Committees, and the Law on Foreign Investment;
- Provide housing for people and permanent Locations to make their living;
- Recover the farming land;
- Reconstruct some districts damaged by the war; [and]
- Repair and operate the existing industrial factories.

First Five-year Plan (1980-1985), so-called Plan I, after the First Legislature (Supreme People's Assembly) adopted the Lao First 5-year plan, regulations, and laws, it also was formulated to translate the Resolutions of the 3rd Resolution of the Party Congress (held 27-30 April 1982) into practice; First five-year plan was implemented followed the main objectives, were to:

- Support the agricultural-forestry production in order to achieve food sufficiency;
- Repair the existing factories for regular operation and create a number of new industrial facilities; Shifted macro-economic to state-owned enterprise, evolution cut-off subsidies from the state, and autonomous⁹²; [and]
- Construct basic infrastructure: Road No. 9, major bridges along Road No. 13.

Note, in 1984 (10 Janaury) Former Prime Minister Suvanna Phouma dies in Vientiane, age 82; May 1984 Constitution drafting committee named; June, border conflict with Thailand over three villages;

1985 (February) First Lao-US search mission for soldiers missing in action; 1-7 March First nationwide population census; and 2 December Celebrations marks tenth anniversary of Lao PDR; March 1985 First national population census was taken.

- ❖ **The SECOND PERIOD**, the New Economic Mechanism (NEM) or New Economic Management System (NEMS) or New Economic Mechanism Formalizes Reforms (NEMF), after the Fourth Congress of the LPRP (13-15 November 1986) endorses New Economic Mechanism introducing market economic principles, which gradual return to private

⁹² Council of Ministers (1980), *Regulation on State-owned Enterprise* (in Lao ‘ຂໍ້ກຳນົດວ່າດ້ວຍລັດວິສາຫະກິດ’).

enterprise and the liberalization of foreign investment, transition to the market-oriented system, and open door of the country to foreign relations, neighboring countries, regions, and the international arena, began 1986.

1. **Plan II (1986-1990)**, It was designed to implement the 4th Resolutions of the Party Congress, which was held in 1986; endorses basis economic objectives similar to those of the first half of the 1980s, the major objectives were to:
 - Stabilize the national economy and politics;
 - Continue to transform the economic structure with multiple sectors under the policy of moving from the subsistence and semi-subsistence economic system into a market-oriented economy under the Party-State leadership;
 - Ensure food self-sufficiency and food security;
 - Reduce the area subject to slash-and-burn cultivation and to conserve forestry resources;
 - Expand the agro-forestry industrial processing sector;
 - Improve the balance of payments by reducing non-food imports and increasing exports, particularly to convertible currency countries;
 - Improve the transport and telecommunication system;
 - Strengthen managerial capabilities and to overcome the constraints of lack of qualified manpower.

Note, in November 1987-January 1988 New border conflict with Thailand;

1988 First elections since 1975 held; at district level in June, provincial level in November;

1988 (23 November) Foreign Minister announces all Vietnamese troops withdraw from Laos (last Vietnamese troops reportedly leave Laos);

1989 (26 March) First National Elections for Supreme People's Assembly (the Second Legislature) opening session held May-June; the members of Assemblies existed at provincial and district levels;

1990 (April) LPRP approves draft constitution for discussion.

1990 (15-17 December) Visit of Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng marks warming of relation with China.

2. **Plan III (1991-1995)**, It was designed to continue to transform the Lao economy into a market-oriented economy under the Party-State leadership, (Medium-term Policy Framework was replaced) after the 5th Congress of the LPRP (held 27-29 March) the Secretary-General was abolished (replaced by Chairman) Comrade Kaysone Phomvihane chairman of LPRP, and Former President Souphanouvong retires; the key objectives of plan III were to:
 - Improve infrastructure and living standard of the people step by step;
 - Expand cooperation with foreign countries; [and]
 - Attract foreign investment into the national development.
- ♦ In addition, 8-year Plan (1993-2000) was formulated, which aimed at ensuring stable and sustainable socioeconomic development by implementing the 8 national priority programs set out during the period.

Note, in 1991 the 5th Congress LPRP elevates Mr. Kaysone Phomvihane to presidency of the state and the Party; 13 August congress of the Supreme People's Assembly (Second Legislature) was to fulfill its political role in drafting the first Constitution of the Lao PDR, which was endorsed on 14 August, and the Constitution was Promulgated by Mr. Phoumi Vongvichit (acting President) on 15th August 1991, Mr. Kaysone

Phomvihane becomes president of Lao PDR and Mr. Khamtai Siphandone, Prime Minister. Cabinet was reshuffled, local authority, and frameworks were reformed.

1992 (21 November) President Kaysone Phomvihane dies age 72, replaced by Mr. Nouthak Phoumsavanh as State President, and Mr. Khamtai Siphandone as Prime Minister, President of the LPRP, and Council of Ministers was reorganized; on December 20, 1992 members of the Third Legislature were elected and the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA) changed the name to the National Assembly (NA) which served only at national level.

1994 the First bridge spanning the Mekong (open on 8 April);

1994 (January 7) Former Acting President Phoumi Vongvichit died, age 84;

1995 (January 9) Former President Souphanouvong died at age 85, ending the last direct link between the monarchy of Lan Xang, which was started by King Fa Ngum and the government of Laos

3. **Plan IV (1996-2000)**, It was the period to continue the implementation of the Government plan until 2000 (8-year plan 1993-2000). After 6th Congress of the LPRP was held on 18-20 March.

Initially, it was aimed at implementing the 8 national priority programs as well as expanding cooperation with regional and international community in order to obtain assistance and necessary inputs for the national socioeconomic development.

4. **Plan V (2001-2005)**, It was the period that the globalization provided both several opportunities and challenges. After 7th Congress of the LPRP was held on 12-14 March 2001.

The core issue in this period was poverty reduction that became the obligation of all countries in the world.

Lao PDR successfully formulated the National Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (NGPES) that became the basis for reducing poverty, supporting the national policy on "Industrialization and Modernization", and helping to achieve Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2015.

Especially, it was designed as "Arrow (progressive) Approach" plan to ensure the successful implementation of the socio-economic development plan until 2020.

Note, on 06 May 2003 the Constitution of Lao P.D.R was amended, replaced the first one (15 August 1991), and was promulgated by the President Khamtai Siphandone on 28 May 2003.

5. **Plan VI (2006-2010)**, It was "Arrow (progressive) Approach" plan to ensure the successful implementation of the socio-economic development plan until 2020. After 8th Congress of the LPRP was held on 18-21 March 2006 which was endorsed the resolution, and draft of the 6th five-year plan, then 6th Plan was approved by the VI National Assembly (6th Legislature) on 8 June 2006.

Accordance to the 6th NSED plan (2006-2010), in 2006 Lao Government enacted the Government Priority Policy for 5 years term (2006-2010) there are 11 frameworks and 111 Programs, especially to the 11th framework was determined on Improve and enhancement of effectiveness on public administration especially to administrative organizations. To continue on implement government policy, therefore it necessary to my office might formulate soon and every public officer must pay attention and understand clearly on Organizational Development.

★ **Achievements of the 6th NSEDP**

- ◆ **Stable Macroeconomic Growth**
 - Average GDP Growth: 7.9% per year;
 - Inflation Rate has decreased steadily, averaging 5.15%;
 - Total Investment: 24,747 billion Kip;
 - Budget Revenue: 16.5% of GDP and public expenditure 21.2% of GDP;
 - Budget deficit: 4.7% of GDP;
 - Trade deficit: 5.3% GDP;
 - Foreign Reserves Covers 6 months of imports.
- ◆ **Poverty & Inequality** (Regional disparities between North, Central and South)
 - High level of poverty in South East border regions (mountainous areas and heavily contaminated with UXOs/mines);
 - Western border regions along the Mekong have low levels of poverty (better infrastructure, trade opportunities, access to arable land).

Note, 9 September 2008 Former President Nouhak Phoumsavanh died at age 98.

6. **Plan VII (2011-2015)**, After Round Table Meeting (RTM) was discussed on October 20-21, 2010 in Vientiane, some provinces, and the 9th Congress of the LPRP was held on 17-21 March 2011 participants also shared viewpoints on the draft 7th plan, by then was approved in the First session of the 7th National Assembly (Legislature). The 7th National Socio-Economic Development Plan (2011-2015) after initial Achievements of the Implementation of the 6th NSEDP (2006-2010) Lao government had achieved as many goals, which by some indicator, such as The average annual GDP growth has been 7.9%, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) for five years amounted 219,795 billion Kip, which represents an annual average of 43,959 billion Kip (at constant price). The 7th NSEDP target of GDP growth rate at least 8% annually, reduce poverty, achieve the MDGs by 2015 and construct basic infrastructure for industrialization and modernization in the time to come. A direction of the 7th NSEDP to achieve on public service was stipulated that “Increase enforcement and effectiveness of public administration, reform democratic state in the direction of rule of law, ensure equality and justice in society, fight corruption, increase savings, and reduce extravagance; Pay attentions to address social challenges in a timely manner, allocate responsibilities, and identify clear roles between the central and local levels authorities.

Chapter III

Laos in Present-day

Laos Administrated by People’s Republic Regime under the Constitution of Laos which was promulgated on August 15, 1991 (then was amended on May 06, 2003) as the top-Law of Laos, and various laws, regulations, rules which effective on the public, arm forces, and society management.

- ★ Head of State: President Lt. Gen. Choummaly SAYASONE; (Since 8 June 2006)
 - ★ Vice President: Mr. BounNhang VORACHIT; (Since 8 June 2006)
 - ★ Prime Minister: Mr. Thongsing THAMMAVONG; (Since 23 December 2010)
- Deputy Prime Ministers:
- Maj. Gen. Asang LAOLY; (Since May 2002)
 - Maj. Gen. Duangchai PICHIT; (Since 8 June 2006)
 - Dr. Thongloun SISOULITH; (Since 27 March 2001) [and]
 - Mr. Somsavath LENGSAVAT. (Since 26 February 1998)

The Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP) is the key player to guide the road map of country to the prosperity and the 7th National Socio-Economic Development Plan was approved by the National Assembly on 15 June 2011. The 7th Plan in macroeconomic targets:

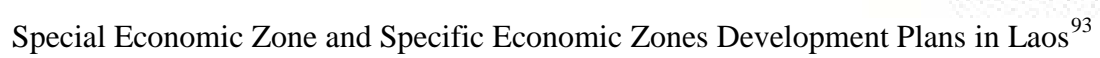
- Ensure continuation of national economic growth with security, peace and stability, and ensure GDP growth rate: at least 8% annually;
- Agriculture and forestry: 3.5% (share: 23.0% of GDP);
- Industry: 15% (share: 39.0% of GDP);
- Service: 6.5% (share: 38.0% of GDP);
- Achieve the MDGs by 2015 and adopt appropriate technology and skills, and create favorable conditions for graduating the country from LDC by 2020 ;
- GDP per capita: U.S. \$ 1,700 by 2014-2015;
- Poverty to reduce below 19% and household poverty ratio 11 %;
- Net enrolment rate at Primary school at 98 %;
- Etc.

9 Millennium Development Goals in 2015:

- ① Eradicate Poverty & Hunger;
- ② Achieve Universal Primary Education;
- ③ Promote Gender Equality;
- ④ Reduce Child Mortality;
- ⑤ Improve Maternal Health;
- ⑥ Combat HIV AIDS, Malaria and Other Diseases;
- ⑦ Ensure Environmental Sustainability;
- ⑧ Develop a Global Partnership for Development; [and]
- ⑨ Reduce the Impact of UXO.

Other achievement targets:

- Host of International Conferences, such as: the Asia-Europe Parliamentary Partnership Meeting (ASEP 7) on October 3, 2012; the 9th Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) on November 5-6, 2012; the 32nd ASEAN Tourism Forum (ATF); Cambodia, Lao, and Vietnam on Development Triangle (CLV); Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam (CLMV); 5th Ayeyawady-Chao Phraya-Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy (ACMECS) Summit; Asia, Europe Landlocked Countries (Euro-Asian LLCs), Least Developed Countries (LDCs), and Landlocked Developing Countries (LDCs), so-called LLDCs Conference; and so on;
- Implement the Megaprojects which was approved from the National Assembly, such as: High-speed Rail (link to China), commercial railways (Vietnam, Thailand), Friendship bridges cross the Mekong River, Highways, Hongsa lignite-fired power plant in Xayaboury, Hydroelectric Power Dams, Mining, Alternative energy, Bio-diesel, East-West Corridor, Special Economic Zone (SEZ) and Specific Economic Zones (SCZ), Land concession, and so on;
- Approach to be the member of World Trade Organization (WTO); Integrate to ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) effects on 31 December 2015; cooperation with UN, UNDP, and UN umbrella organizations, IFI, IMF, ADB, MRC, GMS, JICA, KOICA, GTZ, INGOs, NGOs, and other organizations' parties in regions, Continent, and International Arena;
- Etc.





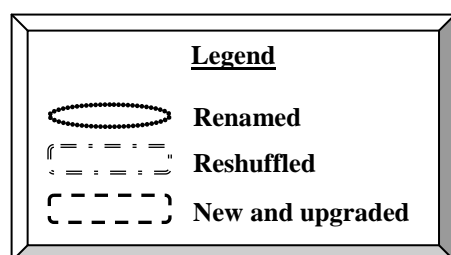
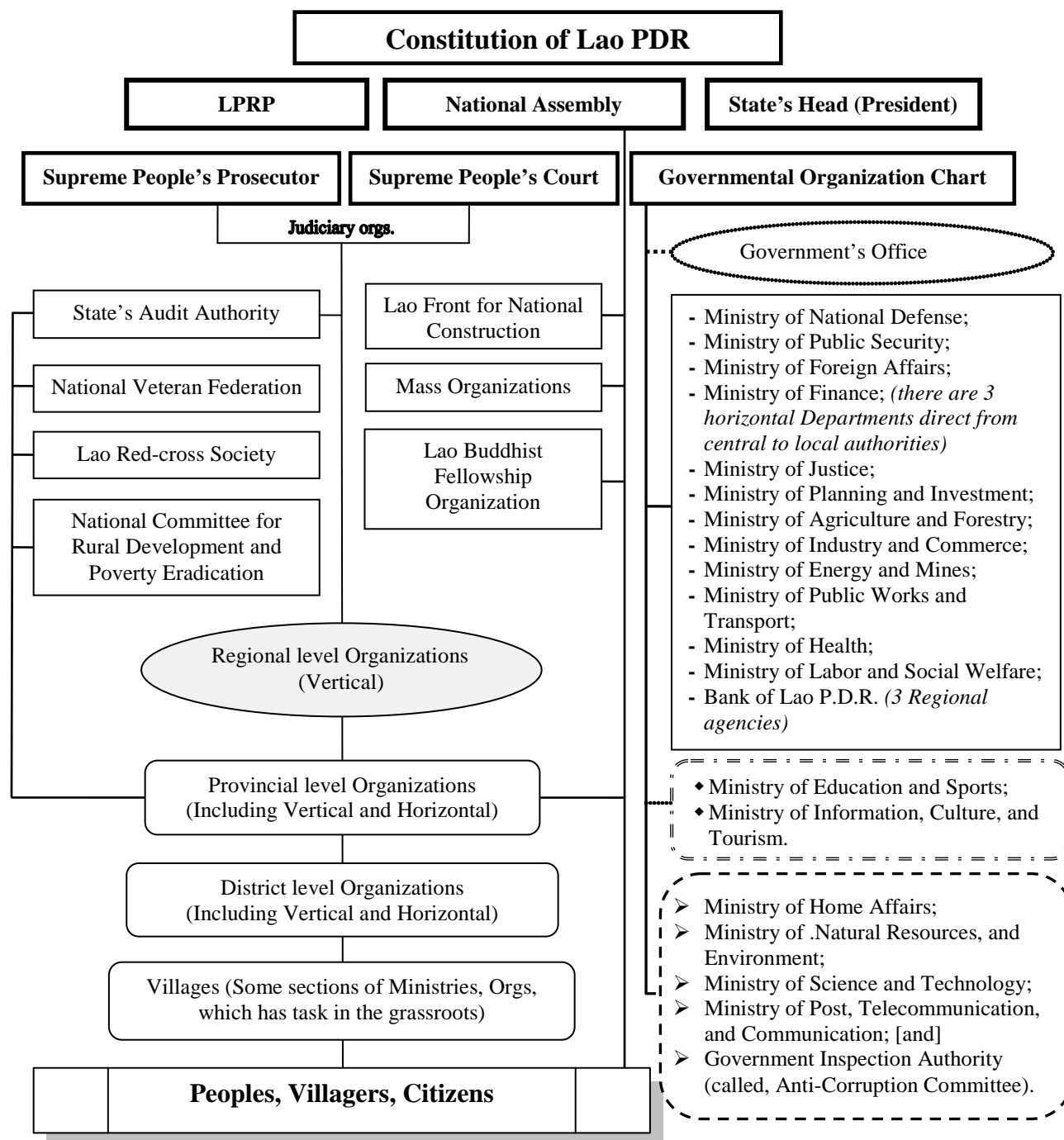
(Some barriers)

Polity

The public administration of Laos was reused, refined, and developed from the Aiy-Lao Mandala which was derived and developed from the Khun Bôrom, Khun Lô, and King Fâ Ngum's Administration in ancient time, after which was abolished in 1970s. Prime Minister of Laos is the head of government, responsibility to the administrative of state, cabinet members works on specific missions, Chao Khwaeng, and Chao Müang serves in the local levels, parallel with functions supported from the Chief of Villages, and people in their own communities.

The central Cabinets, consists of Prime Minister, Deputies Prime Ministers, Ministers, Chairman or Head of Organizations which equivalent to Ministers, who were approved by the National Assembly (mostly in the first session by Constitution). The cabinets has ultimate responsibility for the implementation of the laws passed by the National Assembly, with power to issue decrees, agreement and regulations for their own sectors' purposes, and may itself recommend legislation, reports, and other development plans presents to the National Assembly.

Lao Governmental Organizations⁹⁴, during the tenure of Prime Minister Thongsing THAMMAVONG's administration there are consists of 18 Ministries and 3 Equivalent Organizations, which was approved by the National Assembly on 15 June 2011.



In addition, there are some organizations which directed to the government (within the Government's Office) such as:

- National Academy of Social Science;
- Office of the State's Audit Authority;
- National Leading Committee for Rural Development, and Poverty Eradication;
- National Committee on Special Economic Zone and Specific Economic Zone;
- And some offices, councils, secretariats, and so on, which were also attached in Government's Office.

⁹⁴ Presidential Decree (2011), *Government Machinery, Appointment of Prime Minister, Deputies Prime Minister and Ministers in Cabinet of Lao P.D.R.*, Presidential Office, Vientiane (107/PO, dated 30 June 2011).

Local Administration in Laos divides by 3 levels

- 1) Province ;
- 2) District ; [and]
- 3) Village.

Names of Provincial level:

1. Vientiane (the Capital city);
2. Vientiane Province;
3. Phongsaly Province;
4. Huaphan Province;
5. Luang Namtha Province;
6. Borkeo Province;
7. Oudomxai Province;
8. Luang Prabang Province;
9. Xayaboury Province;
10. Xieng khuang Province;
11. Borlikhamxai Province;
12. Kham Muane Province;
13. Savanhnakheth Province;
14. Salavan Province;
15. Xekong Province;
16. Attapeau Province; [and]
17. Champasak Province.

⇒ There are 17 Provincial levels;
 ⇒ 144 Districts (new 2 Districts in 2011);
 ⇒ 8.726 Villages (August 2011).

Development in next five-years, the 9th Congress of the LPRP guides 4 breakthroughs for achieves development goals throughout the country during 2011-2015:

1. Relieving of people's mind from old stereotype;
2. Human Resource Management (HRD);
3. Public Management Mechanisms; [and]
4. Poverty reduction.

In rural development, the 9th Resolution of LPRP guides cadres to disseminated to the 3 builds 'ສາມສ້າງ' directive target (Province, District, and Villages), which necessary to boost economic growth from central to local, especially to the grassroots receives more development for their community and countryside, alongside with continues the KoumBaan (Villages movement) with the modified Prime Minister's Guidance on 3 tiers of local administration (3 shifts), which was implement since 2000 to the new situation, alongside with implementing the national socio-economic development plans (5 and each fiscal years). The Three Builds directive (Sam Sang Directive) which aims to build up provinces as strategy-making units, districts as comprehensively strengthened units, and villages as development units for rural development, poverty reduction, and rely on agricultural production in focal areas.

The current Economic features⁹⁵

Since the creation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic in 1975, governance has played an important role in the country's goals to consolidate the nation-state, create national unity and establish the basis for sustainable and equitable development.

⁹⁵ Data was selected from Bank of Lao PDR; Ministry of Planning and Investment; Indexmundi.com; Kushnirs.org, and ASEAN ASCU Database.

Laos still be one of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs), and Laos remains one of the poorest countries in Southeast Asia, low income, which strives to be free from the poor and suffering state by 2020 (Graduate from the LDCs), the Lao economy would not have been in lack of budget, nor Lao so dependent on foreign aid and expertise on development.

In obviously, Laos has been moving steadily since 1980s from a command economy to a market economy, attempting to incorporate even the remotest rural areas in a process to ensure sustainable growth, increased food security, cleared pressure of changes, and greater opportunities for people's participation started from 1986 (New Economic Policy). The results, starting from an extremely low base, were striking - growth averaged 6% per year from 1988-2008 except during the short-lived drop caused by the Asian financial crisis that began in 1997. The stimulation from the government to continue the decentralize control and encourage private enterprise, the government is pursuing poverty reduction (reduced official poverty rates from 46% in 1992 to 26% in 2010), and education for all children as key goals. Subsistence agriculture, dominated by rice cultivation in lowland areas, accounts for about 30% of GDP and 75% of total employment; The government in Fiscal Years 2009-2010 received \$586 million from international donors. The economy has benefited from high foreign investment in hydropower, mining, and construction. Laos gained Normal Trade Relations status with the US in 2004, and is taking steps required to join the World Trade Organization, such as reforming import licensing. Related trade policy reforms will improve the business environment. On the fiscal side, Laos initiated a VAT tax system in 2010; The government tried to transform (transition) from being a low middle-income country to an upper-middle income within 2020 by implements policies, especially in the beginning of the new millennium, Laos open-door policy on Special Economic Zones for foreign investors, Infrastructures, Megaprojects, and first time of country, which was opened a stock exchange (market), the Lao Securities Exchange was launched in early of this year on 11 January (11.1.2011), transform Laos into 'the battery of ASEAN' (Nam Theun 2 is one of the largest foreign investment project ever undertaken in Laos, 1070 MW, commercial operation started in December 2009), and has become a rising regional player in its role as a hydroelectric power supplier to neighbors such as China, Vietnam and Thailand. In addition, Lao government priority for 2011-15 will outline efforts to achieve Millennium Development Goals.

GDP (official exchange rate): \$6.341 billion (2010 est.)

GDP (purchasing power parity) \$15.69 billion (2010 est.)

Country comparison to the world: 135

(In 2008: \$13.54 billion; and in 2009: \$14.56 billion)

Note: data are in 2010 US dollars.

GDP - composition by sector:

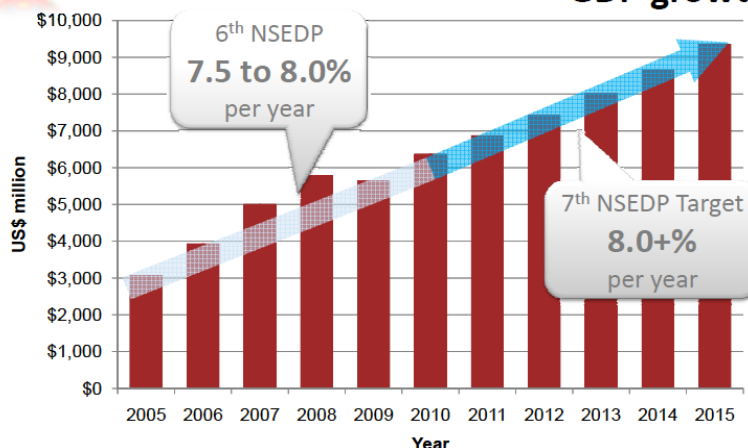
Agriculture: 29.2%

Industry: 32.4%

Service: 38.3 (2010 est.).



Macroeconomic Targets GDP growth



★ **Economic Growth Rate by yearly (%)**

Years	Rate	Years	Rate	Years	Rate
1983	3.1	1993	5.87	2003	5.5
1984	6	1994	8.15	2004	6
1985	7.9	1995	7.05	2005	7.3
1986	7	1996	6.89	2006	7.4
1987	-3	1997	6.9	2007	7.5
1988	6	1998	3.99	2008	6.5
1989	14.3	1999	5.2	2009	7.7
1990	6.7	2000	4	2010	7.7
1991	4.0	2001	5	2011	8% (est.)
1992	7.01	2002	5.5		

★ **Economic Growth Rate by Five Year Plan (%)**

Year	Targets	Achievements
2001-2005		6.2%
2006-2010	7.5-8%	7.9%

★ **GDP per Capita (USD) 1970-2010**

Years	Target	Achievements	Indexmundi	ASEAN ASCU Database	Kushnirs
1970					41
1971					43
1972					46
1973					51
1974					57
1975					66
1976					71
1977					74
1978					79
1979					85
1980					99
1981					121
1982					136
1983					145
1984					155
1985					164
1986					171
1987					169
1988					167
1989					191
1990					208
1991					232
1992					248
1993					285

1994					321
1995					355
1996				393	367
1997				336	339
1998				244	234
1999				278	268
2000				328	320
2001		322		329	314
2002		332			327
2003		357			358
2004		433			424
2005		506			469
2006		534			599
2007		669			708
2008	875	810		491 US\$	880
2009	907	946	2,400 (est.)	(2009-2010)	916
2010	1,077	823	2,500 (est.)		1080
2011	1,281	-	2,700 (est.)		-



Hydro-electric power dams (source; waterpowermagazine.com)

Laws in Laos

Since national liberation in 1975, there are many laws have been enacted in Laos (both Supreme People's Assembly, and National Assembly, from the First Legislature to the Seventh Legislature) with clear vision in order on building a state governed by the rule-of-law by 2020.

There are more than 117 issues of bills which was enacted, approved, and promulgated for a period of time, but there are some items has been amended, and repealed.

There are 80 laws, including the Constitutions which have effective in the present-day (17 August 2011), those of laws have divided by 3 areas (by the National Assembly), e.g. Administrative and Governing; Economic; and Social and Culture Areas.

A. Laws on Administrative and Governing Area

№	Name of Laws	Remarks
1.	Constitution of the Lao PDR	(1991) (2003)
2.	Law on Penal	(1989) (2001) (2005)
3.	Law on People's Court	(1989) (2003) (2009)
4.	Law on Office of the Public Prosecutor of Lao PDR	(1989) (2003) (2009)
5.	Law on Lao Nationality	(1990) (2004)
6.	Law on Court Fees	(1990) (2006)
7.	Law on Civil Procedure	(1990) (2004)
8.	Law on Contract	(1990) (2008) repeals Contract Law (1990) and Tort Law (1990)
9.	Law on Election of Members of the National Assembly	(1991) (1997) (2010)
10.	Law on Notary	(2009) repeals Law on Notary Office (1991)
11.	Law on Family Registration	(1991) (2009)
12.	Law on National Assembly	(1993) (2003) (2010)
13.	Law on Government of Lao PDR	(1995) (2003) repeals Law on Council of Ministers (1978)
14.	Law on National Defense Obligation	(1995)
15.	Law on Local Administration	(2003)
16.	Law on Criminal Procedure	(2004)
17.	Law on Judgment Enforcement	(2004) (2008)
18.	Law on Oversight by the National Assembly	(2004)
19.	Law on Officers of the Lao People's Defense Force	(2004)
20.	Law on Handling Petition	(2005)
21.	Law on Anti-Corruption	(2005)
22.	Law on State Inspection	(2007)
23.	Law on Security Force	(2007)
24.	Law on Fire Prevention	(2007)
In addition, some laws was repealed and subdued, due to the new constitution was promulgated, e.g. Law on Local People's Assembly, and People's Administrative Committees (101/SPA, 31 July 1978)		

B. Law on Economic Area

№	Name of Laws	Remarks
1.	Law on Insurance	1990
2.	Law on Property	1990
3.	Law on Accounting	(1990) repeals Law on Enterprises' Accounting (2007)
4.	Law on Bank of the Lao PDR	(1990) repeals the Law on the Establishment of the Bank of Lao PDR (1995)
5.	Law on State Budget	(1994) (2006)
6.	Law on Bankruptcy of Enterprises	(1994)
7.	Law on Enterprises	(1994) repeals the Business Law (2005)
8.	Law on Customs	(1994) (2005)
9.	Law on Tax	(1995) (2005)

10.	Law on Water and Water Resources	(1996)
11.	Law on Land	(1997) (2003)
12.	Law on Land Transport	(1997)
13.	Law on Electricity	(1997) (2008)
14.	Law on Agriculture	(1998)
15.	Law on Urban Plans	(1999)
16.	Law on Public Roads	(1999)
17.	Law on the Industrial Processing	(1999)
18.	Law on Land Traffic	(2000)
19.	Law on Telecommunication	(2001)
20.	Law on State Assets	(2002)
21.	Law on Postal Service	(2004)
22.	Law on Food	(2004)
23.	Law on Forestry	(2005) (2007)
24.	Law on Tourism	(2005)
25.	Law on Health Care	(2005)
26.	Law on Civil Aviation	(2005)
27.	Law on Secured Transactions	(2005)
28.	Law on Resolution of Economic Disputes	(2005) (2010)
29.	Law on Commercial Banks	(2006)
30.	Law on Value-Added Tax	(2006) repeals the amended Tax Law (2005)
31.	Law on Audit	(2007)
32.	Law on Standardization	(2007)
33.	Law on Intellectual Property	(2007)
34.	Law on Mineral	(2008)
35.	Law on Veterinary	(2008)
36.	Law on Publication	(2008)
37.	Law on Plant Quarantine	(2008)
38.	Law on Fisheries	(2009)
39.	Law on Construction	(2009)
40.	Law on Water Supply	(2009)
41.	Law on State Investment	(2009)
42.	Law on Investment Promotion	(2009) <i>Repeals Law on Promotion of Foreign investment (1978), (1994) and (2004); and Law on Promotion of Domestic Investment (1995), and (2004).</i>
43.	Law on Statistics	(2010)
44.	Law on Measurement	(2010)
45.	Law on Consumer Protection	(2010)
46.	Law on Drug and Medical Products	(2010)

C. Law on Social and Culture Area

No	Name of Laws	Remarks
1.	Law on Family	(1990) (2008)
2.	Law on In-heritage	(1990) (2008) repeals Law on Heritage and Basis of In-heritage
3.	Law on Labor	(1994) (2006)
4.	Law on Environmental Protection	(1999)
5.	Law on Education	(2000) (2007)
6.	Law on Hygiene, Disease Prevention and Health Promotion	(2001)
7.	Law on Development and Protection of Women	(2004)
8.	Law on National Heritage	(2005)
9.	Law on the Protection of the Right of Children	(2006)
10.	Law on Trade Union	(2007)
11.	Law on Narcotic	(2007)
12.	Law on Sports and Physical-techniques	(2007)
13.	Law on Wildlife	(2008)
14.	Law on Handicraft	(2008)
15.	Law on Mass Medias	(2008)
16.	Law on Tobacco Control	(2009)

17.	Law on Lao Front for National Construction	(2009)
18.	Law on Lao People's Revolutionary Youth Union	(2009)
19.	Law on Anti HIV/AIDS	(2010)

Culture, Society, Religions, and some features

Pursuant to my prior presented in the beginning of the paper, Laos has 49 ethnic groups in four main dialect speaking (languages), therefore, there is no surprisingly, which the Laos plenty of cultures, traditions, rituals, of its own ethnic groups, each of them also preserves their own dialect, customs, culture and tradition throughout the country.

The different and mismatch, does not be cause and radical problem on living in Laos, but it was occurred between the different groups in language, and their beliefs which have sometimes been characterized by misunderstandings among them and competition over necessary for life, e.g. natural resources, territories for residence, foods, etc. in rural area.

Laos, where rich cultures, fundamentally, history is a prime database of what may be regarded of racial Lao, most of Lao people also proud to their own ancestors, relatives, and leaders; in this sense, history also become an authority of what is recorded the life pattern of the nation in the past, up to the present. Even though, incident in 1975, all such attempts met with the over hostility of most Lao people and were soon abandoned. Today the lowland Lao –that is, mainly the people of the Mekong and other major river valleys –are overwhelmingly Buddhist and generally quite devout⁹⁶.

Laotian society is a society characterized by semi-independent rural engaged in subsistence agricultural production. Ethnic, geographic, and ecological differences create variations in the pattern of village life from one part of the country to another, but the common threads of village self reliance, limited regional trade and communication, and identification with one's village and ethnic persist regardless of the setting. Rural trade networks, however, have been a part of life since the 1950s. Except near the larger towns and in the rich agricultural plains of Vientiane and Savannkhet, villages are spaced at least several kilometers apart and the intervening land variously developed as rice paddy and swidden fields or maintained as buffer forest for gathering wild plants and animals, fuel wood, and occasional timber harvest⁹⁷.

Everywhere, the basic village character of society is evident. Even in Vientiane, a substantial number of the inhabitants are paddy rice farmers, either as their main occupation or as important supplemental work. Government officials' salaries are inadequate to support a family, and many officials rely on family members to secure their basic rice supply by farming. Cities and towns are also important markets for vegetables and fruit produced in the nearby villages; the trade volume remains small outside of Vientiane but has stimulated the gradually increasing market orientation of rural producers.

Ethnicity differentiates the villages but is usually not a source of conflict or antagonism. Nearly all villages are ethnically homogeneous, although a few include two or more distinct groups. Ethnic mixing often has resulted from different groups migrating to a new settlement site at about the same time, or a larger village at a crossroads or river transit point developing into a minor trading center. The locations where Laotian usually chosen to spend their life with the most convenient for them, which we can obviously seen in Laos, such as Lowland Lao society (Laotian

⁹⁶ Discovery Channel (2000), *Insight Guide LAOS & CAMBODIA*, ed. By Clare Griffiths, APA Publication, Singapore, p. 61.

⁹⁷ Savada, Andrea Matles (1994). *A country study: Laos*. Library of Congress Federal Research Division, Washington D.C.

of the valley), Midland Lao society (Laotian of the mountain slopes), and Upland Lao society (Laotian for the mountain top), those of them the Lowland Lao society, have been the dominant group numerically, politically, and economically since ancient time, particularly when the King Fa Ngum, founder of LanXang Kingdom in 1353.

Religions

Large area Laos with low number of population, if compare with other countries, the Laotians mostly lives in lowland, flat areas, and also near rivers, Laotian lowland residences (over than 50% of population) almost believes in Buddhism (Theravada Buddhism), however distinction 49 ethnic groups are acceptant and practitioners of animism, with beliefs that vary greatly among groups (although animism does not recognized as religion, but in Laos almost called animism religion, or spirits religion) since ancient time both before and after Khun Borom's Testament on respective to the spirits of late parents, ancestors, leaders, and so on.

Even among lowland Lao, many pre-Buddhist animistic religious beliefs have been incorporated into Theravada Buddhist practice, its followers account about 67% of population. Catholics and Protestants constitute approximately 1.5 percent of the population. Other minority religious groups include those practicing the Bahá'í faith, Islam, Mahayana Buddhism, and Confucianism. A very small number of citizens follow no religion, and vice versa there is no official religion in Laos, although Buddhism the largest religion, impact, and influent on the country's culture. In addition, The Laos constitution, some regulations, and policies guaranteed the citizen's rights, especially to the respecting of religion as freedom; however under citizens' obligation to respect the legal of government, e.g. in 2002 Prime Minister issued the Decree on Religious Practice (92/PM).

Buddhism

Buddhism first appeared in Laos (Theravada Buddhism) is believed to have first reached Laos during the 7th - 8th Centuries CE, via the Kingdom of Dvaravati⁹⁸ (6th to the 13th centuries). During the 7th Century, tantric Buddhism (scholars give to a style of religious ritual and meditation) was also introduced to Laos from the Kingdom of NanChao (Tai Kingdom). The Nan-chao kingdom also likely introduced the political ideology of the king as defender and protector of Buddhism, an important ideological tie between the monarchy and the Sangha in much of Southeast Asia. During the 11th & 12th Century, Khmer rulers took control of Muang Sua (now Luang Prabang). During this period, Mahayana Buddhism replaced Theravada Buddhism as the dominant religious ideology of the ruling classes. When King Fa Ngum proclaimed Kingdom of LanXang at XiengThong (now Luang Prabang) in 1353, the queen begged King Fa Ngum to let her send her father, King Jayavarman Parameshvara of Angkor for monks, and the Tripitaka (Buddhist scriptures) to XiengThong. As well as, king Jayavarman sent one of his most sacred Buddha figures (from Ceylon Kingdom) which was solid gold, weighed 40 kilograms, and made over than 1, 400 years⁹⁹. King Fa Ngum brought his Khmer Theravada teachers with him to act as adviser and head priest of the new kingdom. This Khmer monk named Prasmanh (Sangha or Patriarch) also brought to the kingdom a revered image of the Buddha that became known as the Phra Bang, the namesake of the city of Luang Prabang and the symbol of the Lao kingdom.

After declared Buddhism as the state religion, King Fa Ngum urged citizens to abandon Animism or other beliefs such as the cult of Spirits. The policy meant to develop the Lao culture based on a common faith: Theravada Buddhism. Theravada Buddhism (called Hinayana

⁹⁸ ⁹⁸ Savada, Andrea Matles (1994). *A country study: Laos*. Library of Congress Federal Research Division, Washington D.C.

⁹⁹ Simms, Peter and Sanda (1999), *The Kingdom of Laos Six Hundred Years of History*, Graet Britain, p. 37.

Buddhism) antedating Buddhism in Laos is an ancient and pervasive animism, a belief that certain spirits or phi with great power over destinies of men is present throughout the material and nonmaterial universe. Despite sporadic attempts at suppression by the government, beginning with King Photsisarath's decree in 1527, the cult of phi is found today in some form everywhere in Laos, even among the highest level of the Buddhist clergy. An indirect contribution to the persistence of the cult was undoubtedly provided by the Siamese war 1826-1828, which resulted in the temporary flight and deportation of many Lao people. The gradual absorption of elements of phi worship into Buddhist practice has continued for hundreds of years, however, creating a situation in modern Laos in which bonzes may participate side by side with village shamans in ceremonies to propitiate or exorcise phi¹⁰⁰.

Today the Theravada Buddhism is the professed religion and an inherent feature of daily life and casts a strong influence on Lao society; the villages (urban and countryside) or group of villages mostly have at least one temple in their own communities, and these temples are not only places for monks to live, activities and prayers, but those are also the main center for social/community, victim's place and recreational activities such as village meetings, relief, religious ceremonies, school, festivals, and so on.



The Late King, Queen, and Loyalties of Royal Kingdom of Laos offered food to the patriarch

¹⁰⁰ Hraf Press (1960), *Laos, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture*, ed. M. LeBar, Frank, Suddard Adrienne, Human Relations Area Files, inc. p. 45.

Animism or spirit cults

Despite the importance of Buddhism in Laos, but animist beliefs are widespread among all segments of the Lao population. The belief in phi (spirits) colors the relationships of many Lao with nature and community and provides one explanation for illness and disease. Belief in phi is blended with Buddhism, particularly at the village level, and some monks are respected as having particular abilities to exorcise malevolent spirits from a sick person or to keep them out of a house. Many Wat (Temples) have a small spirit hut built in one corner of the grounds that is associated with the phi khoun wat, the beneficent spirit of the monastery.

Phi are ubiquitous and diverse. Some are connected with the universal elements earth, heaven, fire, and water. Many Laotians lowland also believe that they are being protected by khwan (thirty-two spirits). Illness occurs when one or more of these spirits leaves the body; this condition may be reversed by the soukhwan—more commonly called the baci—a ceremony that calls all thirty-two khwan back to bestow health, prosperity, and well-being on the affected participants. Cotton strings are tied around the wrists of the participants to keep the spirits in place. The ceremony is often performed to welcome guests, before and after making long trips, and as a curing ritual or after recovery from an illness; it is also the central ritual in the Laotian lowland wedding ceremony and naming ceremony for newborn children other 20% of people.

Many Lao believe that the khwan of persons who die by accident, violence, or in childbirth are not reincarnated, becoming instead phi phetu (malevolent spirits). Animist believers also fear wild spirits of the forests. Most of Laotian ethnic groups in remote areas are animists, for whom a cult of the ancestors is also important, although each group has different practices and beliefs. Hmong also believe in a variety of spirits (neeb), some associated with the house, some with nature, and some with ancestors. Every house has at least a small altar on one wall, which is the center of any ritual related to the household or its members. Annual ceremonies at Hmong New Year renew the general protection of the household and ancestral spirits. The spirit of the door is important to household well-being and is the object of another annual ceremony and sacrifice. As with other Lao groups, illness is frequently attributed to the action of spirits, and spirit practitioners are called to carry out curing rites. Two classes exist: ordinary practitioners and shamans. Ordinary priests or the household head conduct the household ceremonies and ordinary divinations. The shaman may be called on to engage in significant curing rituals.

Christianity

Christianity was introduced to Indochina by the French, in the course of the 1890s, missionaries of the Missions étrangères de Paris, attached to the mission of Christianity to a Bangkok based Keng-Sadok, on the Mekong River, a few miles from the mouth of the NamXan River. Then the missionaries resumed PakXan District, and then they built a church¹⁰¹. In 1928 the Catholic Church was built in Vientiane (Sacre Coeur), Lao Evangelical Church, the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and so on throughout the country, but usually in urban area merely. Vietnamese converts to Christianity migrated to the large cities, and because of this Christianity in Laos is more closely associated with Vietnamese expatriates than with Europeans or indigenous Lao.

In 1641, about 70 years after the completion of Pha That Luang, Vientiane (the first European envoy visited Laos, during the reign of King Souriya Vongsa of Lān Xāng Kingdom) by a

¹⁰¹ Jean-Louis Archet, *Formes et résultat des activités du monde rural dans le Koueng Borikhane (Laos)*, mémoire de géographie du sous-développement, Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence, 1973, p.16-17.

representative of the Dutch East India Company, Gerrit Van Wuysthoff, who was a Protestant businessman who was more interest in making money than in the mores of the Lao¹⁰².

There are approximately 45,000 members of the Roman Catholic Church, many of whom are ethnic Vietnamese, concentrated in major urban centers and surrounding areas along the Mekong River in the central and southern regions of the country. The Catholic Church has an established presence in five of the most populous central and southern provinces, and Catholics are able to worship openly. The Catholic Church's activities are more circumscribed in the north. An informal Catholic training center in Thakhek prepared a small number of priests to serve the Catholic community (20%). Approximately 400 Protestant congregations conduct services throughout the country for a community that has grown rapidly in the past decade. Church officials estimate Protestants to number as many as 100,000. Many Protestants are members of ethnic Mon-Khmer groups, especially the Khmu in the north and the Brou in the central provinces. Numbers of Protestants also have expanded rapidly in the Hmong and Yao communities. In urban areas, Protestantism has attracted many lowland Lao followers. Most Protestants are concentrated in Vientiane, in the provinces of Vientiane, Xayaboury, Luang Prabang, Xieng Khouang, Bolikhamsai, Savannakhet, Champassak, and Attapeu, etc. throughout the country. The LFNC officially recognizes two Protestant groups - the Lao Evangelical Church and the Seventh-day Adventist Church - and requires all non-Catholic Christian groups to operate under one of these organizations. Seventh-day Adventists number slightly more than 1,000 country-wide, with congregations in Vientiane Municipality as well as Bokeo, Bolikhamxai, Champassak, Luang Prabang, and Xieng Khouang provinces. Christian denominations that have some following in the country, but which are not recognized by the Government, include the Methodists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Church of Christ, Assemblies of God, Lutherans, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), and Baptists. Official membership numbers are not available. Laos is a country with persecution of Christians¹⁰³.

Islam

Muslims are a small ethnic Lao Muslims, and constitute about 0.01% of the population, Muslims are visible in the capital, Vientiane that also has a Jama Masjid¹⁰⁴. The Muslim population is mostly engaged in trade and manages meat shops. A small community of Cham Muslims from Cambodia who escaped the Khmer Rouge is also found. Muslims live primarily in urban areas¹⁰⁵. While small numbers of Muslim Yunnanese or Chin Haw may be found in the north of the country practices a rather lax form of Sunni Islam: fasting on day a week during the month of Ramadan, abstaining from pork.

Bahá'í Faith

The Bahá'í Faith in Laos begins after a brief mention by `Abdu'l-Bahá in 1916¹⁰⁶ and the first Bahá'í enters Laos in about 1955¹⁰⁷. The first Bahá'í Local Spiritual Assembly is known to be first

¹⁰² Discovery Channel (2000), *Insight Guide LAOS & CAMBODIA*, ed. By Clare Griffiths, APA Publication, Singapore, p. 75.

¹⁰³ http://www.opendoorsuk.org/resources/country_profiles.php. Retrieved 17 August 2011.

¹⁰⁴ United States Department of State (2008), *Report on International Religious Freedom*, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, Under Secretary for Democracy and Global Affairs.

¹⁰⁵ United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (2009), *Annual Report 2009*, The Commission's Watch List: Laos, USCIRF.

¹⁰⁶ Abdu'l-Bahá (1991), *Tablets of the Divine Plan* (Paperback). Wilmette, Illinois, USA: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, pp. 40–42.

¹⁰⁷ Effendi, Shoghi (1956), *Messages to the Bahá'í World: 1950–1957* (1971 edition), Wilmette, USA: US Bahá'í Publishing Trust, p. 92.

elected by 1958¹⁰⁸ and eventually Laos' own National Spiritual Assembly is first elected in 1967¹⁰⁹. The current community is approximately eight thousand adherents and four centers: Vientiane, Vientiane Province, Kaysone Phomvihane District, and in Pakxe District, and smaller populations in other provinces¹¹⁰. While well established and able to function as communities in these cities Bahá'ís have a harder time in other provinces and cannot print their own religious materials.

Others

Laos used to be part of the Khmer Empire and has some remaining Hindu temples. Small groups of followers of Confucianism and Taoism practice their beliefs in the larger cities.

Challenges, Barriers

Laos today has perhaps the world's most serious unexploded ordinance (UXO) problem, and these explosives have become a key part of how land is used and experienced in Laos. When the President Kennedy spoke to the American people in 1961 to prepare them for a possible military entanglement in Laos, he maintained that "Lao is far away [...] but the world is small"¹¹¹. It was this logic of "a small world" that made Laos –formerly viewed as, at most, peripheral to US interests – seem to be "the present key to the entire area of South East Asia"¹¹²

This global outlook sparked what might be termed "topophobia" rather than Tuan's "topophilia"¹¹³. The Lao landscape itself acted as an enemy and became the object of attack. The "hostile weather and terrain in Laos" included monsoonal weather that was cursed by pilots¹¹⁴, precipitous slopes and jungle housing "a variety of dangers"¹¹⁵.

Landmine and Cluster Munitions still be the big problem, and barrier of Lao to achieve the country's obligations under the Convention on Cluster Munitions and the targets set in the 9th Millennium Development Goal within 2015, it still miserable to clearance the cluster bombs, although the UXO Lao program was established in 1996, but many parts of Laos still risks posed by UXO, which severely affect rural populations and limit the availability of arable land, especially in the upland areas in the northern, eastern and southern provinces. It controversial among Lao people who living in the rural areas still found to be affected, and killed less than 100 victims per year particularly the innocence children.

¹⁰⁸ Vientiane Assembly Legally Recognized (1960), Bahá'í News (353) on 8. August 1960. And also, Compiled by Hands of the Cause Residing in the Holy Land (1963), *The Bahá'í Faith, The: 1844-1963: Information Statistical and Comparative, Including the Achievements of the Ten Year International Bahá'í Teaching & Consolidation Plan 1953-1963*, p. 25-50.

¹⁰⁹ Hassall, Graham (2000), *National Spiritual Assemblies: Lists and years of formation*. Bahá'í Library Online. Retrieved 2008-12-30.

¹¹⁰ U.S Department of State (2006), "Laos - International Religious Freedom Report 2006", The Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affair. 2006-09-15. Retrieved 17 August 2011.

¹¹¹ "The President warns of our peril in Laos: 'Far away...but world is small'", Life Magazine, 50, 13, 1961, p. 19.

¹¹² R.J. McMahon, (2003), *The Cold War: A very short introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2003, p. 88.

¹¹³ Y.F. Tuan (1974), *Topophilia: A Study in environmental perception, attitudes, and values*, Prentice-Halls Inc., Englewood Cliffee, New Jersey.

¹¹⁴ Consider for instance the memoirs left by Drury (R. Drury, *My Secret War*, Aero Publishers Inc., Fallbrook, CA 1979). In describing his memories of flying A-1 propeller-driven bombers during the 1960s over Laos, Drury begins with the sentence "insanity! It's sheer insanity to fly through that weather" (p. 9). He goes on to commit the entire first chapter of his book to a vivid description of a flight through a storm over the south of Laos. He "fought the storm as if my life depended on it" (p. 12) and describes "outwitting the weather" (p. 9), "brawling with the elements" (p. 13), and how even after he landed the wind and chased after him "as if I were being hunted" (p. 14). Later, while attempting to unwind by a hotel pool in Bangkok, he reflected on his experiences: "I had come from a place where every day was drama and violence, the roar of aircraft engines, fighting weather, fighting an enemy" (p. 57, emphasis added).

¹¹⁵ Holly High (2007), *Violence Landscape: Global Explosions and Lao Life-Worlds*, p. 59-63.

Massive aerial bombardment against Pathet Lao and NVA forces was carried out by the United States in prevent the collapse of Lao's central government and to prevent the use of the Ho Chi Minh Trail. It has been reported that Laos was hit by an average of one B-52 bombload every eight minutes, 24 hours a day, between 1964 and 1973. U.S. bombers dropped more ordnance on Laos in this period than was dropped during the whole of the World War II. Of the 260 million bombs that rained down, particularly on Xiangkhouang Province on the Plain of Jars, some 80 million failed to explode, leaving a deadly legacy¹¹⁶. Laos is the most heavily bombed country, per capita, in the world. Because it was particularly heavily affected by cluster bombs during this war, Laos was a strong advocate of the Convention on Cluster Munitions to ban the weapons and assist victims, and hosted the First Meeting of States Parties to the convention in November 2010.



UXO Contamination Map
Source; Lao National Unexploded Ordnance
Programme “2009 Work Plan”

Unexploded Ordnance (UXO) which were confirmed in 15 provinces which have been affected severely. In particular, the following 8 provinces have suffered from the most severe UXO contamination.

1. Savannakhet;
2. Saravan;
3. Champasak;
4. Attapeu;
5. Khammuane;
6. Luang Prabang;
7. XiengKhuang; [and]
8. HuaPhanh.

A country-wide survey (1996-1997) on the socio-economic impact of UXO reported that 25% of all villages in the country were contaminated by UXO.

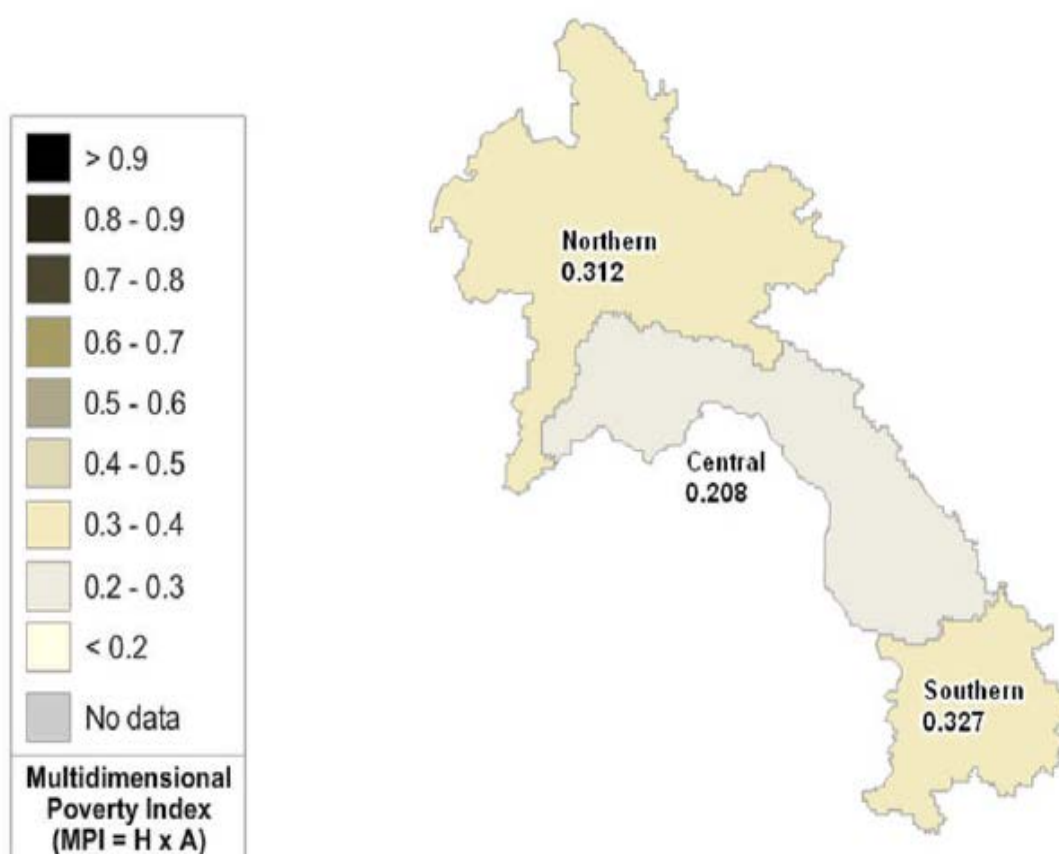
Unexploded ordnance is believed to be one of cause of poverty. Some of the most UXO-contaminated communities are also the poorest in the country. Since the affected areas represent 50% of all agricultural land, the UXO contamination restricts access to agricultural land and production, causing food shortages.

(Source; Study for Poverty Profiles of the Asian Region, JICA, August 2010)

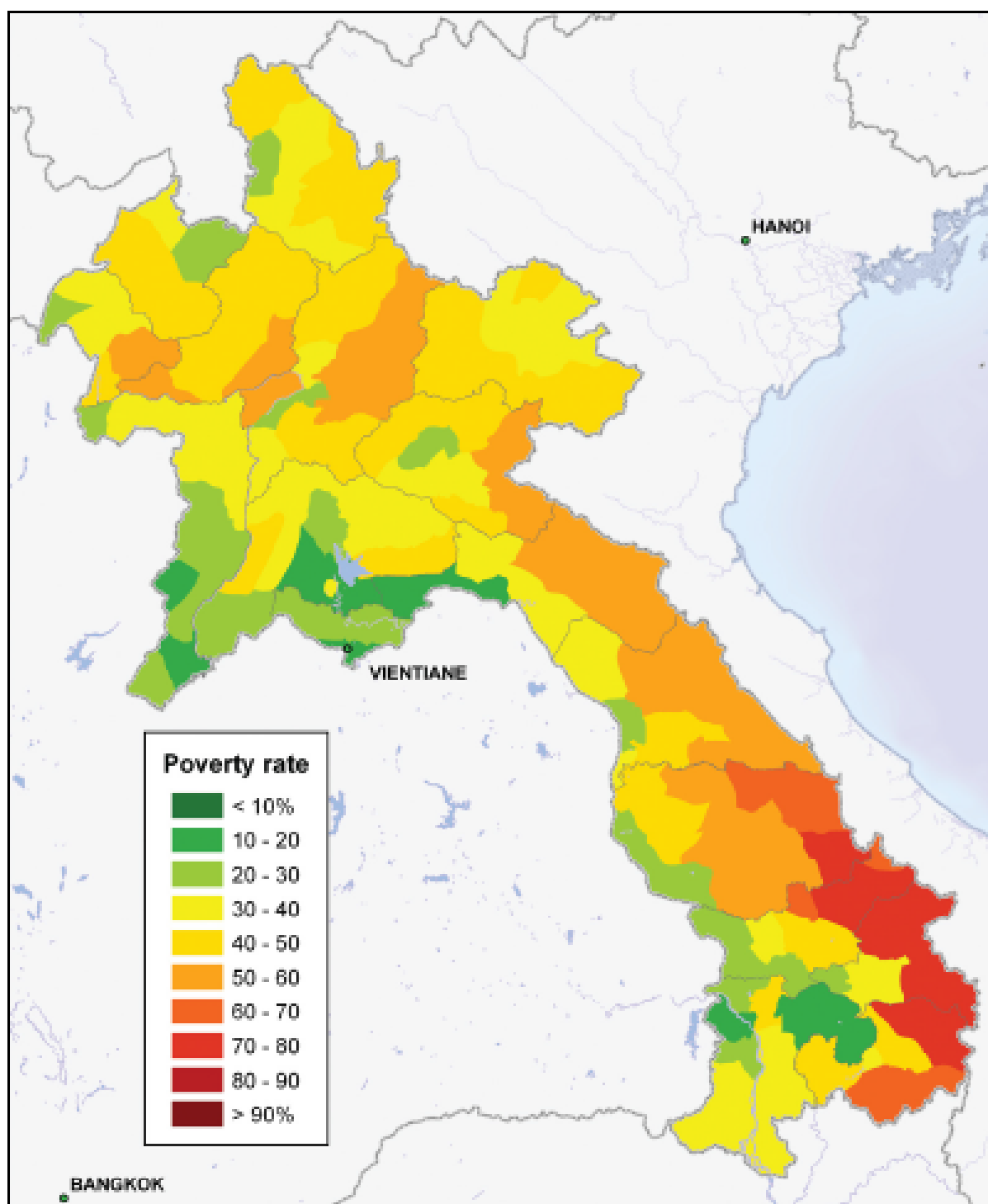
¹¹⁶ Lonelyplanet.com, “History of Laos” 9 August 1960, Retrieved 23 January 2011.



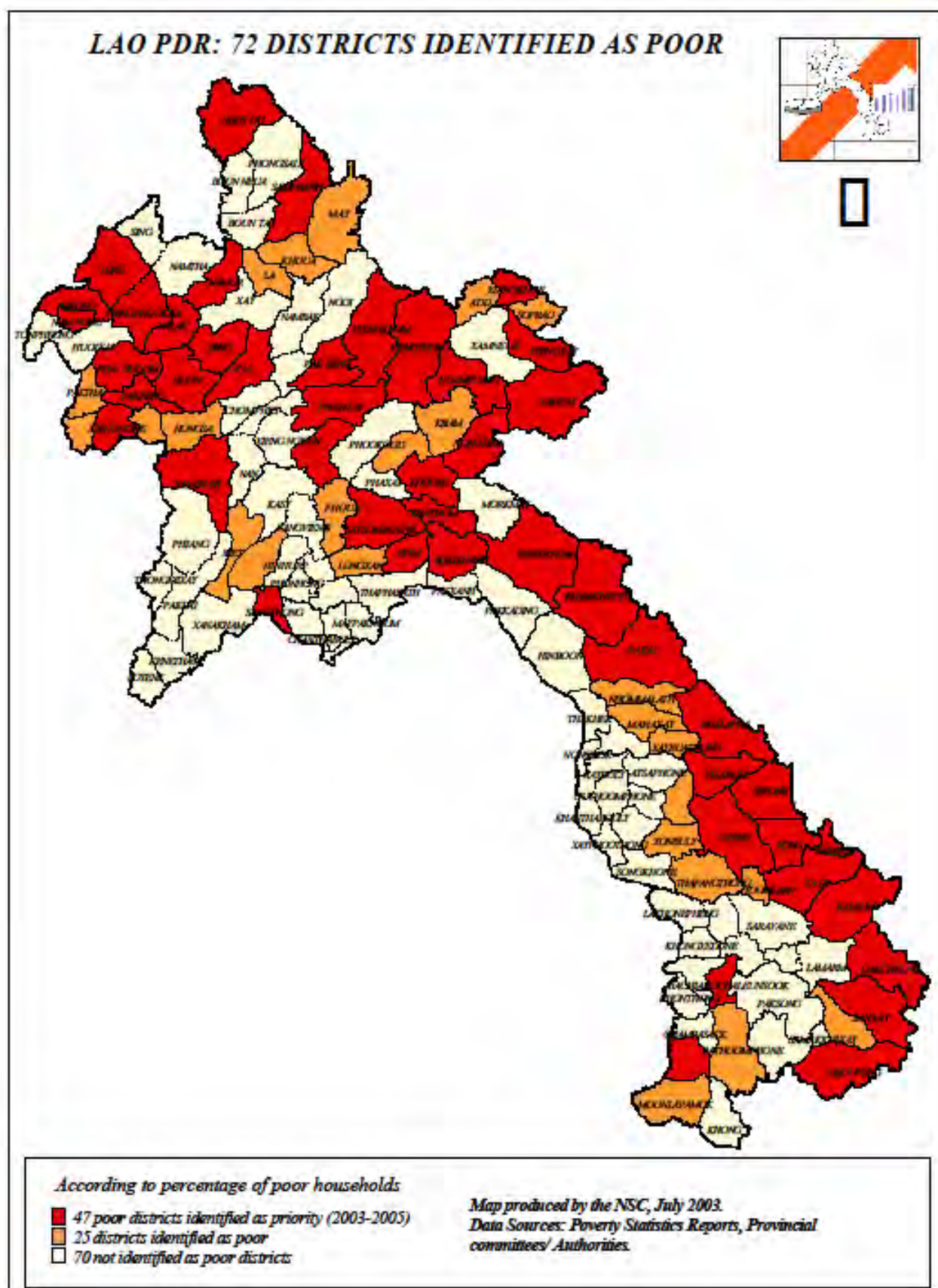
A victim by UXO



Mapping Poverty Rates at the Sub-national Level (source; Oxford Poverty and Human Development Initiative “OPHI” <http://ophi.org.uk>)



Map of the incidence of poverty (P_o) of each district
 Sources: Swiss National Centre of Competence in Research (2008)



Poverty spots

Conclusion

Laos, the land of plenty of natural resources, landscape mostly is characterized by precipitous mountains; long, fertile floodplains, and lastly, high plateaus more than 70% of the land. The mountains are found all throughout Laos, but are mainly in the northern part of the country as are three main plateaus which are found in the north, central and southern sections of the country with living density higher than inhabited in highland areas.

Laos is a poor country in the region, and many people still living in the suffering condition, which mostly in the rural areas, due to many factors since beginning the history of Lao ancestors, with the barriers from the geography landlocked, civil wars, war with foreign powers (Laos has been under the thumb of its neighbors), lack of budgets, human resources, technologies, experiences, and other factors. The subsequently were that causes Laos has experienced great difficulty in establishing a national identity, and achieve development likes other countries.

Laos is sovereignty-state, an area covers of 236.800 km² and contains a population a little in the region, but there are 49 distinct ethnic groups, plenty of costumes, cultures, and traditions. Theravada Buddhism is by far the most prominent organized religion in the country for large scale of citizens, and multi-ethnic groups, who were followers. Although it is not easy to be precise about the early of history of any race (origins, early movements, and way of life) which were lost in the mists of time, and also wars.

Each of Lao governments, since ancient time up to the present also devotes the great values on efforts to consolidate its authority also continues to influence developments throughout the country, especially after 1975 with the change in government regime the political platform, reform in administration from grassroots to the central level for secures the necessities for the development projects, programs, or frameworks and internationals.

There are many challenges facing to Laos in the near future, anyway Laos still little-known hinterland of the world, since the new government starts the open-door policy to the international community to accept knowledge, comments, and recommendations from other countries to transform Laos from the poorest members countries, be free from the arduous struggles, and development country in the future with the real peace (neither in papers, nore words), compromise, and coherence.

Abbreviation and Acronyms

ACMECS	Ayeyawady-Chao Phraya-Mekong Economic Cooperation Strategy
ADB	Asian Development Bank
AFTA	ASEAN Free Trade Agreement
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASEM	Asia-Europe Meeting
ASEP	Asia-Europe Parliamentary Partnership Meeting
ATF	ASEAN Tourism Forum
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency (US)
CLV	Cambodia, Lao, and Vietnam on Development Triangle
CLMV	Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam
EU	European Union,
EWC	East-West Corridor
GHI	Global Human Development Index
GMS	Greater Mekong Sub-region
GTZ	German Technical Cooperation
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection /Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HRD	Human Resource Management
IFI	International Financial Institution
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non Government Organization
LFNC	Lao Front for National Construction
Lao PDR	Lao People's Democratic Republic
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
LDCs	Landlocked Developing Countries
LLDCs	Asia, Europe Landlocked Countries (Euro-Asian LLCs), Least Developed Countries (LDCs), and Landlocked Developing Countries (LDCs)
LPRP	Lao People's Revolutionary Party
MRC	Mekong River Commission
NEM	New Economic Mechanism
NEMF	New Economic Mechanism Formalizes Reforms
NEMS	New Economic Management System
NLHS	Neo Lao Hak Sat
NPCC	National Political Consultative Council
NSED	Socio-Economic Development
NSEDP	Socio-economic Development Plan
NEP	New Economic Policy
NGPES	National Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non Government Organization
NPCC	National Political Consultative Committee
NPCC	National Political Consultative Council
PGNU	Provisional Government of National Union
RTM	Round Table Meeting
SEZ	Special Economic Zones
SPA	Supreme People's Assembly
STD	Sexually Transmitted Disease
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations for Development Program
U.S	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
UXO	Unexploded Ordinance
VAT	Value-added tax
WTO	World Trade Organization

Bibliography

- 3349, *Chao Phetcharat burut lek hoeng ratchanachak Lao* [Prince Phetsarath – iron man of Laos], Bangkok: Ruam Mit [Thai], 1956;
- 3349, *Iron man of Laos: Prince Phetsarath Ratanavongsa*, translated by Baldwin Murdoch, John (Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program Data Paper, edited by David K. Wyatt, p. xi; Martin Stuart-Fox, *Historical dictionary of Laos*, Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2001, [Thai], 1978;
- Abdu'l-Bahá, *Tablets of the Divine Plan* (Paperback). Wilmette, Illinois, USA: Bahá'í Publishing Trust, p.40–42, 1991;
- Amphay Doré, 'The Three revolution in Laos', in Stuart-Fox, ed., *Contemporary Laos*, p. 101-115. (1982);
- Amphay Doré "Aux sources de la civilisation Lao (Contribution ethno-historique à la connaissance de la culture Louang-Phrabanaise.)" Paris: Cercle de culture et de recherches laotiennes, 1987;
- Atwood, C.P., *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*. p. 457, 2004;
- Carine Hahn, *Le Laos*, Karthala, p. 82-86. 1999;
- Condominas, G.L., *From Lawa to Mon, from Saa' to Thai: Historical and anthropological aspects of Southeast Asian Social Spaces*, Canberra, Australian national University Press, (This was a translation from an original French text), 1990;
- Cambridge University Press, *The Cambridge History of Chinese Literature Volume II: From 1375*, 2010, p. 43-45;
- Cho Hung-guk, A Study on the Historical Relations between Riparian State of the Mekong River, Sogang Graduate School of Public Policy, 2009;
- Council of Ministers, *Regulation on State-owned Enterprise* (in Lao 'ຂໍ້ກຳນົດວ່າດ້ວຍລັດວິສາຫະກິດ'), 1980;
- Discovery Channel, *Insight Guide LAOS & CAMBODIA*, ed. By Clare Griffiths, APA Publication, Singapore, p. 61, 2000;
- Document', *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, p. 244-253, 1973;
- Documents sur le 25e anniversaire de la foundation du parti Populaire Révolutionnaire* [Lao] Vientiane, p. 9, 1980;
- Don Sasorith Katay, "Historical Aspects of Laos," in Kingdom of Laos, (Originally appeared as a special issue in French, Saigon: France-Asie, 1956, and was translated into English 1959;
- Evans Grant, (editor). *Laos: Culture and Society*, Silk worm Books, 2000;
- Evans Grant, *A SHORT HISTORY OF LAOS the land in between*, Allen & Unwin, 2002;
- Effendi, Shoghi, *Messages to the Bahá'í World: 1950–1957* (1971 edition), Wilmette, USA: US Bahá'í Publishing Trust. p. 92, 1956;
- E. Lefèvre in "Un Voyage au Laos", Éd. Plon, Nourrit et Cie, Paris (1898), translated and Introduction by Walter E. J. Tips (1995), *Travels in Laos The Fate of the Sip Song Pana and Muong Sing* (1894-1896), White Lotus Co. Ltd., p. 28-31, 1898; and 1995;
- Fauveau, Vincent, *Démographie de la peninsula indochinoise*, Universités Francophones, (p.45), 1997;
- Finot Louis, *Ex-voto du That Luong de Vieng-Chan (Laos)*, BEFEO III, p. 660-663, 1903;
- Foreign Broadcasts Information Service, *Daily Report: East Asia* (hereafter FBIS), 24 March 1976;
- Georges Maspéro, 'Say-Fong: une ville morte', pp 1–17, 1903;
- Government of Laos, *The Lao Government Directory 2006-2010* (Lao), Public Administration and Civil Service Authority (PACSA), Prime Minister's Office (PMO), Vientiane, 31st December 2010;
- Hassall, Graham, *National Spiritual Assemblies: Lists and years of formation*. Bahá'í Library Online. Retrieved on 2008-12-30, 2000;

- Ivarsson S. and E. Goscha Christopher (2007), *Prince Phetsarath (1890–1959): Nationalism and Royalty in the Making of Modern Laos*, Journal of Southeast Asia Studies, 38 (1), p. 55-81 February 2007, the National University of Singapore, (United Kingdom). P. 55-56.
- Jean Deuve, *Guérilla au Laos*, L'Harmattan, 1997 (1ere édition en 1966, sous le nom de Jean-Louis Archet, *Formes et résultat des activités du monde rural dans le Koueng Borikhane (Laos)*, mémoire de géographie du sous-développement, Université de Provence, Aix-en-Provence, 1973, p.16-17, 1997;
- Jeff Cranmer, Steven Martin, Kirby Coxon (1991), *The Rough Guide to Laos*, p. 328, 1991;
- Kenez, Peter, *A History of the Soviet Union from the Beginning to the End*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 47–48, 2006;
- Kwang In Kai, *The Neutralized-unification of Korea in Perspective*, p. 71-78, 1980;
- Lao People's Democratic Republic. Kasuang Seuksa lae Kila (Ministry of Education and Sports) Pawatsat Lao. San Pathom P. Th. 5, p. 3, (1989);
- Lao People's Democratic Republic. Kasuang Seuksa lae Kila (Ministry of Education and Sports) Pawatsat Lao San matthayom p. th. 1 (History: Secondary School Grade 1), Vientiane, 1991;
- Lao People's Democratic Republic. Satthiti Rat, Khanakamakan Phaenkan haeng lat (State Statistical Center, State Planning Commission) 10 Years of Economic and Social Construction in the Lao People's Democratic Republic). Vientiane, 1985;
- Law on Council of Ministers, 1978;
- Law on Local People's Assembly and People's Administrative Committees, 1978;
- Law on the Promotion of Foreign Investment 1978 & 1994;
- LeBar Frank, and Suddard Adrinne, *Laos: Its People, its Society, its Culture*, HRAF Press New Haven, 1960;
- Le Boulanger, *Histoire du Laos-Français*, Paris, Plon, 1931 (Reprinted, Farnborough, England: Gregg International Publ., 1969);
- Lorrillard, Michael, Scripts and History: the Case of Laos, *Written Cultures in Mainland Southeast Asia*, SENRI ETHNOLOGICAL STUDIES 74: 33-34, 2009;
- Louis Finot, 'Notes d'épigraphie: L'inscription sanskrite de Say-Fong', *BEFEO*, Vol 3, No 1, pp 18–33, 1903;
- Maha Sila Viravong, *Pavat Nangsue Lao* [Histoire de L'écriture Lao], Vientiane, 1973;
- Maha Sila Viravong, *Chao Mahaupalat Phetsalat* [His Highness Viceroy Phetsarath] Vientiane: Social Science Committee, 1996;
- Maha Sila Viravong, *Chao Phetcharat burut lek hoeng ratchaanachak Laos* [Prince Phetsarath – iron man of Laos], translated by Sommai Premchit (Bangkok: Matichon Press, B.E. 2542 or A.D. 1999;
- Maha Sila Viravong (1957) and Paragon Book Reprint Corp; New York (1964), *History of Laos*; Michel Caply), p.226; and Carine Hahn, *Le Laos*, Karthala, p. 88-89, 1999;
- Mission Pavie, *Nithan Khun Borom and the Histoire du Pays de Lan-Chhang, Hom Khao*, p.42, 1898;
- McNall Burns, Edward, *World Civilizations, Their History and Their Culture*, W.W.Norton & Company, Inc., p. 485, 1964;
- Modern Illustrated Library, *World History Civilization from its beginnings*, p. 131-135, 1962 & 1968;
- Ngô Sĩ Liên, *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (in Vietnamese) (Nội các quan bản ed.), Hanoi: Social Science Publishing House, 1993;
- Olivier Raendchen, *Tai Ancient Philosophy: tau tae tching or lao-tse (The Right Path)*; Tai Peoples in China. Part I. *Tai Culture*, Vol. 20, p. 53, 2008;
- Ooi Keat Gin, *Southeast Asia: A Historical Encyclopedia, from Angkor Wat to Timor. R-Z*. Vol. 3, ABC-CLIO, P. 935, 2004;
- Philippe Franchini, *Les Guerres d'Indochine*, tome 1, Pygmalion-Gérard Watelet, p. 250, 1988;
- Phomvihane Kaisone (1980), *La Révolution Lao*;

- Presidential Decree, *Government Machinery, Appointment of Prime Minister, Deputies Prime Minister and Ministers in Cabinet of Lao P.D.R*, Presidential Office, Vientiane (107/PO, dated 30 June 2011), 2011;
- Resolution No. 213/NA of the 6th Ordinary Session of the 6th National Assembly of Laos approval, dated 25th November 2008;
- R.J. McMahon, *The Cold War: A very short introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2003, p. 88, 2003;
- Savada, Andrea Matles, *A country study: Laos*. Library of Congress Federal Research Division, Washington D.C., 1994;
- Simms, Peter and Sanda, *The Kingdom of Laos Six Hundred Years of History*, Graet Britain, p. 37, 1999;
- Simon de la Loubère's, *A new historical relation of the kingdom of Siam*, (pp. 1-9), 1693;
- Soukamneuth J. Bounlonh, *The Political Economy of Transition in Laos: From Peripheral Socialism to the Margins of Global Capital*, Cornell University, 2006;
- Stieglitz Perry (1959), *In a Little Kingdom*, p. 211.
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "Who Was Maha Thevi?," *The Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. LXXXI, Part 1-2, 1993;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. *Buddhist Kingdom, Marxist State: The Making of Modern Laos*. Bangkok: White Lotus, Studies in Asian History, No. 2, 1996;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. *A History of Laos*, Cambridge University Press 1997;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin, *The Lao Kingdom of Lan Xang: Rise and Decline*, White Lotus, 1998;
- Taylor, Keith Weller, *The Birth of Vietnam*, University of California Press, p. 212-217, 1983;
- Thongsa Sayavongkhamdy (Thongsa Saiyawongkhamdy), Bounkong Thongsavat (Bunkng Thngsawat), Daeng Phonsavan (Daeng Phonsawan), Sounet Phothisan (Sun't Phyhisan), Singthong Singthapangna (Singthng Singthpanya), Viengvijit Sutthidet (Wiangwicit Sudthid't), comp. Pawatst Lao, Lem III: 1893-thaeung pachuban (History of Laos, Vol. 3: 1893 to the Present). Vientiane: Kasuang Seuksa lae Kila, Sathaban khonkhua withayasat sangkhom (Ministry of Education and Sports, Social Science Research Institute). 1989;
- United States Department of State (2006 & 2008), "*Laos - International Religious Freedom Report 2006*", The Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affair. 2006-09-15, (Retrieved 17 August 2011);
- United States Commission on International Religious Freedom, *Annual Report 2009*, The Commission's Watch List: Laos, USCIRF, 2009;
- Vientiane Assembly Legally Recognized, *Bahá'í News* (353) on 8. August 1960. And also, *Compiled by Hands of the Cause Residing in the Holy Land (1963)*, The Bahá'í Faith, The: 1844-1963: Information Statistical and Comparative, Including the Achievements of the Ten Year International Bahá'í Teaching & Consolidation Plan 1953-1963, p. 25-50, 1960;
- Vliet, J.V., *Description of the Kingdom of Siam*, Translated by Ravenswaay, L.F.V. (1910), p. 34-35, 1633, 1692, and 1910;
- WAR Wood, *A History of Siam*, Fisher Unwin Ltd. London, and reprinted (1994), Bangkok, 1924 & 1994;
- Wyatt, David K., *Thailand: A Short History*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003.
- Winichakul Thongchai, *Siam mapped: a history of the geo-body of a nation*, University of Hawaii Press, Figure 14, 1994;
- Y.F. Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study in environmental perception, attitudes, and values*, Prentice-Halls Inc., Englewood Clifffes, New Jersey, 1974;
- Zasloff, Joseph Jeremiah, *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*, p. 67-86, 1991;
- 교육부검정, *역사부도* (Korean) Historical Assistant Material Map, Printed in Korean, 1989;
- http://iseas.kr/info/revol_download.php?id=Lecture_Series&no=21&filenum=2;
- [http://kerchner.com/images/dna/ymdna_migrationmap;](http://kerchner.com/images/dna/ymdna_migrationmap)

<http://creedopedia.com/topics/Khun-Lo;>
<http://google.la;>
<http://indexmundi.com;>
<http://kushnirs.org;>
<http://lonelyplanet.com/History of Laos/ 9August1960/>, Retrieved 23 January 2011;
<http://na.gov.la> (Lao National Assembly);
<http://nsc.gov.la> (Lao Statistic Bureau, Ministry of Planning and Investment);
http://opendoorsuk.org/resources/country_profiles.php, retrieved 17 August 2011;
<http://royalark.net/>
<http://scholar.google.com;>
<http://seasite.niu.edu/lao/culture/luangprabang/KB.htm>;
<http://smh.com.au/opinion/politics/four-climate-change-positions-in-one-day-20110309-1bnu3.html>
(retrieved on August 17, 2011);
<http://sncsez.gov.la;>
http://taistudiescenter.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=10:early-history-of-the-tai-people&catid=5:history&Itemid=7;
<http://tudtu.tripod.com/tai2.htm>;
<http://waterpowermagazine.com/story.asp?sc=2056330;>
<http://wikipedia.com;>
etc.

Selected references (Lao) ບັນນານຸກົມ

- ກະຊວງສຶກສາທິການ, (1995), *ປະຫວັດສາດລາວ ເຫຼັ້ມໜຶ່ງ*, ວຽງຈັນ;
- _____ (1998), *ປະຫວັດສາດລາວ ເຫຼັ້ມສາມ: ສະໄໝໃໝ່ ແລະ ປະຈຸບັນ*, ວຽງຈັນ;
- ກະຊວງຖະແຫຼງຂ່າວ ແລະ ວັດທະນະທຳ (1996), *ປະຫວັດສາດລາວເຫຼັ້ມໜຶ່ງ*, ວຽງຈັນ;
- _____ (2000), *ປະຫວັດສາດລາວ (ດຶກດຳບັນ-ປະຈຸບັນ)*, ວຽງຈັນ;
- ໄກສອນ ພິມວິຫານ, (1985), *ບົດນິພົນເລືອກເຟັ້ນ ເຫຼັ້ມທີ 1*, ສຳນັກພິມຈຳໜ່າຍ ສ.ປ.ປ. ລາວ: ວຽງຈັນ;
- _____ (1987), *ບົດນິພົນເລືອກເຟັ້ນ ເຫຼັ້ມທີ 2*, ສຳນັກພິມຈຳໜ່າຍ ສ.ປ.ປ. ລາວ: ວຽງຈັນ;
- _____ (1997), *ບົດນິພົນເລືອກເຟັ້ນ ເຫຼັ້ມທີ 3*, ສະຖາບັນການເມືອງ ແລະ ການປົກຄອງແຫ່ງຊາດ: ວຽງຈັນ;
- ຄະນະຄົ້ນຄວ້າພາກວິຊາພາສາລາວ-ວັນນະຄະດີ (2004), *ພື້ນວຽງສະໄຫມເຈົ້າອະນຸວົງ*, ພາກວິຊາພາສາລາວ-ສື່ສານ
ມວນຊົນ, ຄະນະອັກສອນສາດ, ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລແຫ່ງຊາດ, ວຽງຈັນ;
- ດວງໄຊ ຫຼວງພະສີ (1995) ແລະ (2001), *ພົງສາວະດານຄົນລາວແຜ່ນດິນຂອງລາວ*, ວຽງຈັນ;
- _____ (1996), *ວິລະກຳຂອງເຈົ້າອະນຸວົງ*, ວຽງຈັນ;
- _____ (1996) ແລະ (2001), *ອານາຈັກຂຸນເຈືອງ*, ວຽງຈັນ;
- ທອງສາ ໄຊຍະວົງຄຳດີ (1989), *ປະຫວັດສາດລາວ ແຕ່ 1893 ເຖິງປະຈຸບັນ*, ວຽງຈັນ;
- ບົວພັນ ທຳມະວົງ (1998), *ປະຫວັດສາດລາວ ເຫຼັ້ມໜຶ່ງ: ສະໄໝບູຮານ*, ມະຫາວິທະຍາໄລແຫ່ງຊາດ, ກະຊວງສຶກສາທິ
ການ ແລະ ກິລາ, ວຽງຈັນ;
- ມະຫາ ສິລາ ວິລະວົງສ໌ (1957), *ພົງສາວະດານລາວ*, ກົມມັທຣະຍົມສຶກສາ, ກະຊວງສຶກສາທິການ, ວຽງຈັນ;
- _____ (1973), *ປະຫວັດໜັງສືລາວ*, ປາກປ່າສັກການພິມ: ວຽງຈັນ;
- _____ (1957) ແລະ (2001), *ປະຫວັດສາດລາວແຕ່ບູຮານ ເຖິງ 1946*, ຫໍສະໝຸດແຫ່ງຊາດ: ວຽງຈັນ;
- ພັກປະຊາຊົນ ປະຕິວັດລາວ (1955), *ເອກະສານກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຄັ້ງທີ I ຂອງ ພັກປະຊາຊົນ ປະຕິວັດລາວ (21-22 ມີນາ)*;
- _____ (1972), *ເອກະສານກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຄັ້ງທີ II ຂອງ ພັກປະຊາຊົນ ປະຕິວັດລາວ (03-06 ກຸມພາ)*;
- _____ (1982), *ເອກະສານກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຄັ້ງທີ III ຂອງ ພັກປະຊາຊົນ ປະຕິວັດລາວ (27-30 ເມສາ)*;
- _____ (1986), *ເອກະສານກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຄັ້ງທີ IV ຂອງ ພັກປະຊາຊົນ ປະຕິວັດລາວ (13-15 ພະຈິກ)*;
- _____ (1991), *ເອກະສານກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຄັ້ງທີ V ຂອງ ພັກປະຊາຊົນ ປະຕິວັດລາວ (27-29 ພະຈິກ)*;
- _____ (1996), *ເອກະສານກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຄັ້ງທີ VI ຂອງ ພັກປະຊາຊົນ ປະຕິວັດລາວ (18-20 ມີນາ)*;
- _____ (2001), *ເອກະສານກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຄັ້ງທີ VII ຂອງ ພັກປະຊາຊົນ ປະຕິວັດລາວ (12-14 ມີນາ)*;
- _____ (2006), *ເອກະສານກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຄັ້ງທີ VIII ຂອງ ພັກປະຊາຊົນ ປະຕິວັດລາວ (18-21 ມີນາ)*;
- _____ (2011), *ເອກະສານກອງປະຊຸມໃຫຍ່ ຄັ້ງທີ IX ຂອງ ພັກປະຊາຊົນປະຕິວັດລາວ (17-21 ມີນາ)*.

Recommended further Reading

- Souphanouvong (Published in Lao);
- Kaisone Phomvihane (Published in Lao);
- M. S. Viravong, History of Laos (Published in Lao);
- H. Toye, Laos: Buffer State or Battleground (1968);
- Phet Ladwig, Short Dictionary of Religious and Buddhist Terms Lao-English, Luang Prabang B.E. 2548, [A.D 2005];
- P. Ratnam, Laos and the Super Powers (1980);
- Garnier, F. Voyage d'exploration en Indochine. Paris: Hachette. LAOS / HISTORY, 1873;
- Guillot, M.E. "La France au Laos et la question du Siam," in Grande ConfJrJnces de Lille. Lille: L. Daniel, 1894;
- Aymonier, Etienne. Voyage dans le Laos. Paris, 1897;
- Lefevre-Pontalils, Pierre. "L'Invasion thaVe en Indo-chine [Part 1]," T'oung Pao, 1897;
- De Barthelemy, Marquis P. Le Laos. Paris, 1898;
- De BarthJlemy, Marquis P. "Le Laos," BibliothJque illustrJe des voyages autour du monde par terre et par mer, no. 44, 1898;
- McCarthy, James. Surveying and Exploring in Siam. London: John Murray, 1900;
- Bourlet, Antoine. 1907. "Les Thay," Anthropos, * Concerns the culture, society, and history of the Tai (Black and White) living in the borderland between Laos and Vietnam, 1907;
- Pionnier, M. "Notes sur la chronologie et l'astrologie au Siam et au Laos," Anthropos, 1908;
- Guignard, T. "Note historique et ethnographique sur le Laos et les Thay," RJvue Indochinoise, 1911;
- Pavie, Auguste. Mission Pavie en Indochine, 1879-1895. 11 vols. Paris: Leroux, 1898-1919;
- Roux, Henri. "Deux tribus de la rJgion de Phongsaly (Laos Septentrional)," Bulletin de l'Ecole FranHaise d'ExtrLme-Orient, 1924;
- Abadie, Maurice. Les races du Haut-Tonkin de Phong-Tho a Lang-Son. Paris: Challamel, 1924;
- Indochina. French. La penetration scolaire en pays cambodgien et laotien. Hanoi: Impr. d'Extr^me-Orient, 1931;
- Meyer, Roland. Indochine FranHaise: Le Laos. Hanoi: Imprimerie d'ExtrLme-Orient, 1931;
- Grossin, Pierre. Notes sur l'histoire de la province de Cammon (Laos). Hanoi: Imprimerie d'ExtrLme-Orient, 1933;
- IchJ, FranHais. La Statut politique et international du Lao franHais. Toulouse: Imprimerie Moderne, 1935;
- Irwin, E. With Christ in Indochina: The Story of Alliance Missions in French Indochina and Eastern Siam. Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Christian Public, 1937;
- LJvy, Paul. "Le traces de l'introduction du bouddhisme B Luang Prabang," Bulletin de l'Ecole FranHaise d'ExtrLme-Orient, 1940;
- Pavie, Auguste. A la conquLte des coeurs: Le Pays des millions d'JlJphants. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1942;
- Great Britain. Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Divison. Indo-China. London: HMSO, Geographical Handbook Series, 1943;
- Maha Sila Viravong, (Sila Wilawong, Maha), trans. Thao Hung rue Cheuang (Thao Hung or Cheuang). Ubon: Volume published on the occasion of the cremation of Somdet Phra Maha Viravong at Wat Boromniwat, 1943;
- Rochet, Charles. Pays Laos: Le Laos dans le tourmente, 1939-1945. Paris: Vigneau, 1946;
- Briggs, Lawrence Palmer "The Appearance and Historical Usage of the Terms Tai, Thai, Siamese and Lao," Journal of the American Oriental Society, 1949;
- Izikowitz, Karl Gustav. Lamet: Hill Peasants in French Indochina. G`teborg, Sweden: Etnografiska museet. Reprinted: New York: AMS Press, 1951;
- Roux, Henri, and Tran-Van-Chu. "Quelques minoritJs ethniques du nord-Indochine," France-Asie, 1954;
- Somlith Pathammavong. "Compulsory Education in Laos," in Compulsory Education in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam. Paris: UNESCO, 1954;
- Jacquet, C.H. "The Swiss Brethern Mission in Laos," Occasional Bulletin, 5.6, 2 June, 1954;
- Bilodeau, C., et al. Compulsory Education in Cambodia, Laos, and ViLt-Nam. Paris: UNESCO, 1955;
- Johnson, Ras Oliver. A Study of Education in Laos. Vientiane: United States Operations Mission to Laos, November 23. Mimeo, 1956;
- Barney, George L[inwood]. "Christianity: Innovation in Meo Culture: A Case Study in Missionization," M. A. Thesis, University of Minnesota. 1957;
- Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. "Le That de Muong-Sing," Bulletin de la SociJtJ des Etudes Indochinoises, n.s. 1957;
- Pietrantoni, Eric. "La population du Laos en 1943 dans son milieu gJographique," Bulletin de la SociJtJ des Etudes Indochinoises, Nouvelle SJrie, 1957;
- Seidenfaden, Eric. The Thai Peoples. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1958;
- CoedPs, George "An Introduction to the History of Laos," in Kingdom of Laos. RenJ de Berval, ed. Saigon: France-Asie, 1959;
- Phouvong Phimmason. "The Buddhist Institute and Reigious Teaching," in Kingdom of Laos. RenJ de Berval, ed. Saigon: France-Asie, 1959;
- LJvy, Banyen. "Legends and Fables: Two Legends," in Kingdom of Laos. RenJ de Berval, ed. Saigon: France-Asie, 1959;
- Nhoy Abhay, Thao. "The Baci," in Kingdom of Laos. RenJ de Berval, ed. Saigon: France-Asie. France-Asie, 1959;
- Nhoy Abhay, Thao. "Buddhism in Laos," in Kingdom of Laos. RenJ de Berval, ed. Saigon: France-Asie, 1959;
- KarpelPs, Suzanne. "The Sculptured Caves in the Province of Vientiane," in Kingdom of Laos. RenJ de Berval, ed. Saigon: France-Asie, 1959;
- Archaimbault, C. "La Naissance du monde selon les traditions Lao: le mythe de Khun Bulom," in La Naissance du Monde. Paris: Ed. Seuil (Sources Orientales (Reprinted in Structure religieuses Lao (rites et mythes). Vientiane, 1959;
- Nhoy Abhay, Thao. "Versification," in Kingdom of Laos. RenJ de Berval, ed. Saigon: France-Asie, 1959;
- De Berval, RenJ, Kingdom of Laos. Saigon: France-Asie. * Translation of a French work, PrJsence du Royaume Laos (1956). Still the best general introduction to the history and traditional culture to Laos. 1959;

- Mayoury Ngaosyvathn and Pheuiphanh Ngaosyvathn. 1994. *Kith and Kin Politics: The Relationship between Laos and Thailand*. Manila and Wollongong, Australia: Journal of Contemporary Asia Publishers; and; CFK Meeker, Ode. *The Little World of Laos*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959;
- Terral-Martin. "Les J>takas et la litt>rature de l'Indochine bouddhique," *France Asie*, NumJro Special, 1959;
- Iwata, Keji. "Ethnic Groups in the Valley of the Nam Song and Nam Lik: Their Geogrpahic Distribution and Some Aspects of Social Change," *Japanese Journal of Ethnology*, X:XX-XX; translated into English and published as Lao Project Paper No. 15, Joel M. Halpern, ed. Los Angeles: University of California, Department of Anthropology, 1959;
- Manich Jumsai, M.L. *History of Laos*. 2nd ed., Bangkok: Chalermnit, 1971; Marchal, Henri. "Decorative Art," in *Kingdom of Laos*. RenJ de Berval, ed. Saigon: France-Asie, 1959;
- Souvanna Phouma, Prince. "Music," in *Kingdom of Laos*. RenJ de Berval, ed. Saigon: France-Asie, 1959;
- Vidal, J. "Noms vernaculaires des plantes en usage au Laos," *Bulletin de l'Icole FranHaise d'ExtrLme-Orient*, 1959;
- Iwata, Keji. "Minority Groups in Northern Laos, Especially the Yao," *Lao Project*, Joel M. Halpern, ed. Los Angeles: University of California, Department of Anthropology, 1960;
- Halpern, Joel. "Laos and Her Tribal Problems," *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, 1960;
- Halpern, Joel. "The Economies of Lao and Serb Peasants: A Contrast in Cultural Values," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 17:163-77. * Halpern, an anthropologist who was employed by the U.S. Agency for International Development when he was in Lao in the late 1950s, has provided the most comprehensive studies of Lao society, including that of the peasantry, of any American observer of Lao society in the post WWII period, 1961;
- Smalley, William A. "Cang: Khamu' Culture Hero," in *Felicitaton Volumes of Southeast Asian Studies Presented to His Highness Prince Dhaninivat Kramamun Bidyalabh Bridhyakorn*. Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1961;
- McKinsty, J. *Bibliography of Laos and Ethnically Related Areas*. Berkeley: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 1962;
- Izikowitz, Karl G. "Notes about the Tai," *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* (Stockhom, Ostasiatiska Museet), 34:73-91. * Based on observations among the Lue and Black Tai of Laos, 1962;
- Schanche, Don A. "An American Hero: The Exclusive Story of How an American Farmer Has Devoted His Life to a One Man Crusade for Greedom and Democracy in Warn-torn, Communists-Infiltrated Laos," *Saturday Evening Post*, June 2, pp. 15-21; June 9, pp. 91-95. * A journalistic account of the work of Edgar "Pop": Buell among the Meo, 1962;
- Archaimbault, Charles. "Contribution a l'Jtude du rituel funJraire Lao," *Journal of the Siam Society*, 1963;
- Wyatt, David. "Siam and Laos, 1767-1827," *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, 1963;
- Izikowitz, Karl G. "Expansion," *Folk*, 5:173-85. * A stimulating analysis of the premodern patterns that led to expansion of Tai-speaking peoples in Laos, 1963;
- Halpern Joel M. *Economy and Society of Laos: A Brief Survey*. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies (Monograph Series, No. 5), 1964;
- Niehoff, Arthur. "Theravada Buddhism: A Vehicle for Technical Change," *Human Organization*, 1964;
- Halpern, Barbara, and Joel Halpern. "Laos and America -- A Retrospective Review," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 1964;
- Halpern, Joel M. "Capital, Saving and Credit among Lao Peasants," in *Capital, Saving and Credit in Peasant Societies*. Raymond Firth and B.S. Yamey, ed. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1964;
- Halpern Joel M. *Government, Politics, and Social Structure in Laos*. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies (Monograph Series, No. 4). * Concerns Lao society and politics based upon the experiences of the author in 1957 and 1959, 1964;
- Berichten aus aller Welt: Laos," *Katholische Missonen*, 1964;
- Arthur J. Dommen. *Conflict in Laos: The Politics of Neutralization*. Praeger.1964;
- Archaimbault, C. "Religious Structures in Laos," (Jane Hanks, tr.), *Journal of the Siam Society*, 1964;
- Keyes, Charles F. "Thailand, Laos, and the Thai Northeastern Problem", *Australia's Neighbours*, 4th Series, no. 17, July-August, 1964;
- Maha Sila Viravong, (Sila Wilawong, Maha), *Lak phasa lao: hiaphiang tam lak vainyakon khong kammakan Vannakhadi*. (Principles of the the Lao language). [Viangchan]: Sila Viravong. 2505. [1962]; Sila Viravong, Maha. *History of Laos*. New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp, 1964;
- Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. *Bibliographie du Laos I*. Paris: Icole FranHaise d'ExtrLme-Orient, 1964;
- Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. "Inventaire des manuscrits des pagodes du Laos," *Bulletin de l'Ecole FranHaise d'extrLme Orient*, 1965;
- Saimong Mangrai, Sao. *The Shan States and the British Annexation* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University, Department of Asian Studies, Southeast Asia Program, Data Paper No. 57, 1965;
- Fall, Bernard. "The Pathet Lao: A 'Liberation Party'," in *The Communist Revolution in Asia: Tactics, Goals and Achievements*, Robert A. Scalapino, ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965;
- Ward, J. Thomas. "U.S. Aid to Hill Tribe Refugees in Laos," in *Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities and Nations*, Peter Kunstadter, ed. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967;
- Smalley, William A. "The Gospel and Cultures of Laos," *Practical Anrthropology*, 1956; Reprinted in *Readings in Missionary Anthropology*. William A. Smalley, ed. Tarrytown, New York: Practical Anthropology. (1967);
- McAllister, John, Jr. "Mountain Minorities and the Viet Minh: A Key to the Indo-China War," in *Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities and Nations*. Peter Kunstadter, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967;
- Osborn, G.M.T. "Government and the Hill Tribes of Laos," in *Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities and Nations*, Peter Kunstadter, ed. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967;
- Kandre, Peter. "Autonomy and Integration of Social Systems: The Iu Mien ("Yao" or "Man") Mountain Population and Theri Neighbors," in *Southeast Asian Tribes, Minorities and Nations*. Peter Kunstadter, ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967;
- D. R. SarDesai. *Indian Foreign Policy in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, 1947-1964*. University of California Press. 1968;
- LJvy, Paul. *Buddhism: A 'Mystery Religion'?* New York: Schocken (originally published, London: Athlone Press, 1957), 1968;
- Wilder, Bernard. *Literacy Levels of Various Sectors of the Population of Laos. A Study Conducted in Laos under the Auspices of the RLG and USAID*. [Vientiane: United States Operations Mission to Laos], 1968;
- Toye, H. *Laos: Buffer State or Battleground*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968;

- Menger, Matt J. Valley of the Mekong. Vientiane Catholic Mission, 1969;
- Bernard B. Fall. Anatomy of a Crisis: The Laotian Crisis of 1960-1961. Doubleday. 1969;.
- McCoy, Alfred W. "French Colonialism in Laos, 1893-1945," in Laos: War and Revolution. Nina S. Adams and Alfred W. McCoy, eds. New York: Harper and Row, 1970;
- P. F. Langer and J. J. Zasloff, North Vietnam and the Pathet Lao (1970);
- Adams, Nina S. "Patrons, Clients and Revolutionaries: The Lao Search for Independence, 1945-1954," in Laos: War and Revolution. Nina S. Adams and Alfred W. McCoy, eds. New York, 1970;
- Adams, Nina S., and Alfred W. McCoy, eds. Laos: War and Revolution. New York: Harper and Row, 1970;
- Gettleman, Marvin, Susan Gettleman, Lawrence Kaplan, and Carol Kaplan, eds. Conflict in Indo-China: A Reader on the Widening War in Laos and Cambodia. New York: Random House, 1970;
- Langer, Paul F. Education in the Communist Zone of Laos. Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, 1971;
- Phimaonw Phouconf. "Ethnies et Nationalités au Laos," *Rivue Juridique politique Indépendance et Coopération*, 1971;
- Haney, Walter. n.d. An Annotated Bibliography of Education in the Kingdom of Laos. [Cambridge, Mass] Mekong Documentation Project, Paper No. 1, 1971;
- Archaimbault, Charles. The New Year Ceremony at Basak (South Laos). Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, Data Paper, 1971;
- Branfman, F.R. Voices from the Plain of Jars: Life under an Air War. New York: Harper Colophon, 1972;
- Bray, Bill, ed. 1971 Mission Directory to Thailand, Cambodia, Laos. Bangkok: Newasia, 1972;
- Archaimbault, Charles. La Course de pirogues au Laos: un complexe culturel. Ascona Switzerland: Artibus Asiae Publishers, 1972;
- Keyes, Charles F. "Religious and Social Change in Southern Laos," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 1972;
- Zago, Marcel. Rites et Cérémonies en milieu bouddhiste Lao. Rome: UniversitB Gregoriana Editrice. * A detailed description and interpretation of Lao rituals, 1972;
- Zago, Marcello. "Dialogue with Buddhists: An Initiative in Laos," *Christ to the World*, 1972;
- Taillard, Christian. "L'irrigation dans le Nord du Laos: l'exemple du bassin de la Nam Song B Vang Vieng," in *Etudes de Géographie tropicales offertes à Pierre Gourou*. Paris: Mouton, 1972;
- Lemoine, Jacques. Un Village Hmong vert du haut Laos: Milieu technique et organisation sociale. Paris: Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1972;
- Vongsavanh Boutsavath and Georges Chapelier. "Lao Popular Buddhism and Community Development," *Journal of the Siam Society*, 1973;
- Westermeyer, Joseph. "Lao Buddhism, Mental Health and Contemporary Implications," *Journal of Religion and Health*, 1973;
- M. Gdański, Notes of a Witness: Laos and the Second Indochinese War (1973);
- Archaimbault, Charles. Structure religieuses Lao (rites et mythes). Vientiane: Vithanga, 1973;
- Charles A. Stevenson. The End of Nowhere: American Policy Toward Laos Since 1954. Beacon Press. 1973;
- Aspects du Bouddhisme Lao. Vientiane: Bulletin des Amis du Royaume Lao, 1973;
- Goldstein, Martin E. American Policy Toward Laos. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1973;
- Suthep Chaviwan. Christian Directory to Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, and the Khmer Republic. Bangkok, 1973;
- Martin E. Goldstein. American Policy Toward Laos. Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1973;
- Bechert, Heinz, Buddhismus, Staat und Gesellschaft in den Ländern des Theravada Buddhismus. 3 vols., Frankfurt am Main/Berlin: Otto Harrassowitz (Schriften des Instituts für Asienkunde in Hamburg, Bands XVII/1, XVII/2, XVII/3), 1966, 1967, 1973;
- McCoy, Alfred W., with Cathleen B. Read and Leonard P. Adams II. The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia. New York: Harper (Colophon Books). (Orig. published 1972). Concerns the history of drug (opium) production and use in Southeast Asia, with primary reference to the politics associated with opium cultivation and heroin production in the "Golden Triangle" (Burma, Laos, Thailand) and the relationship between drugs and the War in Indochina, 1973;
- Ljvy, Paul. Histoire du Laos. Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1974;
- Keo Manivanna. "Aspects socio-économique du Laos méridional," in *Sur le "mode de production asiatique"*. Paris: Editions Sociales, Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Marxistes, 1974;
- Garrett, W.e. "The Hmong of Laos: No Place to Run," *National Geographic Magazine*, 1974;
- Taillard, Christian. "Les berges de la Nam Ngum et du Mékong: systèmes économiques villageois et organisation de l'espace dans la plaine de Vientiane (Laos)," *Etudes Rurales*, 1974;
- Taillard, Christian. "Essai sur la Bi-polarisation autour du vât et de l'école des villages lao de la plaine de Vientiane: le Bouddhisme populaire confronte au développement économique," *Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulindien*, 1974;
- Archaimbault, Charles "Les cérémonies en l'honneur des phis (phi célestes) et des phis (phi précieux) à Basak (sud-Laos)," *Asie du Sud-Est et Monde Insulindien*, 1975;
- Barbier, Jean-Pierre. "Objectifs et résultats de l'aide économique au Laos: une évaluation difficile," *Revue Tiers Monde*, 1975;
- Haudricourt, André-Georges. "De nouveau sur le Thai Neua," *Asie du Sud-est et Monde Insulindien*, 1975;
- Saveng Phinith. "Contemporary Lao Literature," *Journal of the Siam Society*, 1975;
- Wall, Barbara. Les Hya Hom. Vientiane: Vithagna, 1975;
- Yang Dao. Les Hmong du Laos face au développement. Vientiane: Edition Siasavath. * Author is himself a Hmong who was give a high position in the government before 1975; subsequently became a refugee, 1975;
- Maynard, P.J. "Value Changes in a 'Development Cluster' of Villages in Laos," in *Values and Development: Appraising Asian Experience*. Harold Lasswell, Daniel Lerner, and John D. Montgomery, eds. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976;
- Kandre, Peter. "Yao (Iu Mien) Supernaturalism, Language and Ethnicity," in *Changing Identities in Modern Southeast Asia*. David J. Banks, ed. The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1976;
- Zago, Marcello. "Buddhism in Contemporary Laos," in *Buddhism in the Modern World*. Heinrich Dumoulin and John C. Maraldo, eds. New York: Collier Books, 1976;

- SavPng Phinith. Review of Pha Song Lao kap kanpatiwat (The Lao Sangha and Revolution) by (Maha) Khamtan (Thepboualy), Bulletin de l'Ecole FranHaise d'ExtrLme-Orient, 64:317-23. * Maha Khamtan is a leading Buddhist apologist for the new Marxist order in Laos, 1977;
- Stevensen, Charles. The End of Nowhere: American Policy Toward Laos since 1954. Boston: Beacon Press, 1977;
- Taillard, Christian. "Le Village Lao de la rJgion de Vientiane: Un pouvoir local au face au pouvoir etatique," L'Homme, Taillard, Christian. 1989. Le Laos: StratJgies d'un Itat-tampon. Montellier: Groupement d'IntJrLt Public Reclus, 1977;
- Taillard, Christian. "Pouvoirs et espaces en Laos: La Partie de Vientiane," in Etat Pouvoir et Espace dans le Tierre Monde. Paris: Pesses Universiatires de France, 1977;
- Smith, Bardwell L., Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma. Chambersburg, Pa: Anima Books. * An excellent collection of articles by various scholars that trace the traditional relationship between Buddhism and monarchical polities and examine the contemporary relationship between Buddhism and power. While most articles deal with Thailand, there are also papers on Burma and Laos, ed. 1978;
- Bardwell L. Smith. Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos, and Burma. ANIMA Books. 1978;
- Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. Bibliographie du Laos II. Paris: Icole FranHaise d'ExtrLme-Orient, 1978;
- Reynolds, Frank E. "Ritual and Social Hierarchy: An Aspect of Traditional Religion in Buddhist Laos," in Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma. Bardwell L. Smith, ed. Chambersburg, PA: Anima Books, pp. 166-174. Originally published in History of Religions (1969), 1978;
- Reynolds, Frank E. "The Holy Emerald Jewel: Some Aspects of Buddhist Symbolism and Political Legitimation in Thailand and Laos," in Religion and Legitimation of Power in Thailand, Laos and Burma. Bardwell L. Smith, ed. Chambersburg, PA: Anima Books, 1978;
- Olson, Maxine E. "Village Cohesion in Laos: the Effect of the War Refugee Experience," in Population Resettlement in the Mekong River Basin. L. A. Peter Gosling, ed. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Department of Geography (Studies in Geography No. 10), 1979;
- Keyes, Charles F. Southeast Asian Research Tools: Laos. Honolulu: Southeast Asian Studies, Asian Studies Program, University of Hawaii, 1979;
- Aijmer, Goran. "Reconciling Power with Authority: An Aspect of Statecraft in Traditional Laos," 1979;
- Vang Tou-fu. "The Hmong of Laos," in An Introduction to Indochinese History, Culture, and Life. John K. Whitmore, ed. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1979;
- Whitmore, John K., ed. An Introduction to Indochinese History, Culture and Life. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan. * Subtitled, "For persons involved with the Indochinese Refugee Education and Resettlement Project in the State of Michigan." Depsite its rather narrow subtitle, this book provides some excellent overviews of aspects of life in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, 1979;
- Chamberlain, James R. "A Lao Epic Poem: Thao Hung or Cheuang," Paper presented at Symposium on Austroasiatic Languages, Helsingr, Denmark, 1979;
- Bounlieng Phommavanh "Aspects of Lao Family and Social Life," in An Introduction to Indochinese History, Culture and Life. John K. Whitmore, ed. Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, The University of Michigan, 1979;
- Saddh-tissa, H. "Literature in Pali from Laos," in Studies in Pali and Buddhism: A Memorial Volume in Honor of Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap. A.K. Narain and Leonard Zwilling, eds. Delhi: B. R. Publishing Corp, 1979;
- Chamberlain, James R. "Translation of the Tai Epic Poem: Thao Hung or Cheuang," Proposal to the National Endowment for Humanities, 1980;
- Westermeyer, Joseph. "Two Neo-Buddhist Cults in Asia: The Influence of the Founder and the Social Contexts on Religious Movements," Journal of Psychological Anthropology, 1980;
- Sumitra Pitiphat. "The Religion and Beliefs of the Black Tai, and a Note on the Study of Cultural Origins," ournal of the Siam Society, 1980;
- Sicard, Marie-NoNle, and Didier Sicard. Au nom de Marx et de Bouddha: revolution au Laos -- un peuple, une culture disparaissent. Paris: Inter Editions, 1981;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "Reflections on the Lao Revolution," Contemporary Southeast Asia, 1981;
- Lao People's Democratic Republic. Kasuang Seuksa lae Kila (Ministry of Education and Sports). Phmst. Matthayom sam 3 (Geography. Public Middle School Grade 3). Vientiane, 1982;
- Lee, Gary Y. "Minority Policies and the Hmong," in Contemporary Laos: Studies in the Politics and Society of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Martin Stuart-Fox, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982;
- Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. "Buddhism in Contemporary Laos," in Contemporary Laos: Studies in the Politics and Society of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Martin Stuart-Fox, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin, ed. Contemporary Laos: Studies in the Politics and Society of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. New York: St. Martin's Press. * The most comprehensive source on political, social, economic, and cultural changes in Laos since 1975, 1982;
- Stuart-Fox, and Rod Bucknell. "Politicization of the Buddhist Sangha in Laos," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 1982;
- Wekkin, Gary D.. "The Rewards of Revolution: Pathet Lao Policy towards the Hill Tribes since 1975," in Contemporary Laos: Studies in the Politics and Society of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Martin Stuart-Fox, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1975. Laotische Handschriften. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XXXII), 1982;
- Westermeyer, Joseph. Poppies, Pipes, and People: A Study of Opium and Its Use in Laos. Berkeley: University of California Press. * Based on field research in Laos in the early 1970s by a psychiatrist. Should be read in conjunction with McCoy's The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia, 1982;
- Van-es-Beeck, Bernard J. "Refugees from Laos, 1975-1979," in Contemporary Laos: Studies in the Politics and Society of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Martin Stuart-Fox, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982;
- Gunn, Geoffrey. "Theravadins and Commissars: The State and National Identity in Laos," in Contemporary Laos: Studies in the Politics and Society of the Lao People's Democratic Republic. Martin Stuart-Fox, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982;

- Gunn, Geoffrey C. 1982. "Interview with Maha Khamthan Thepboualy," *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 1982; Gunn, Geoffrey C. "Theravadins and Commissars: The State and National Identity in Laos," in *Contemporary Laos: Studies in the Politics and Society of the Lao People's Democratic Republic*. Martin Stuart-Fox, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982;
- Gunn, Geoffrey C. "Resistance Coalitions in Laos," *Asian Survey*, 1983;
- Luther, Hans U. *Socialism in a Subsistence Economy: The Laotian Way*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute, 1983;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "Marxism and Theravada Buddhism: The Legitimation of Political Authority in Laos," *Pacific Affairs*, 1983;
- Sanguan Rtbun. *Phutthasin Lao (Lao Buddhist Art)*. Bangkok, 1983;
- Pheuiphanh Ngaosyvathn. "Thai-Lao Relations: A Lao View," *Asian Survey*, 1985;
- Marcus, Russell. *English-Lao, Lao-English Dictionary*. Revised edition. Rutland, Vermont and Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Co., Publishers. (6th printing, 1989), 1983;
- J. Dommen, Laos (1985);
- Ananda Paxaxay. *Le temple de Vat Phou*. Vientiane: MinistPre de la Culture, l'Institut National de Recherches Artistique et LittJraire, 1985;
- Gunn, Geoffrey C. "A Scandal in Colonial Laos: The Death of Bac My and the Wounding of Kommadan Revisted," *Journal of the Siam Society*, 1985;
- Thngsa Suphamak. *Phongsawadan Lao (History of Laos)*. Bangkok: Khurutsapha, 2528. * Translation into Thai of Maha Sila Viravong's "History of Laos." 1985;
- Blazhenkov, Stanislav, with photographs by Roman Ozersky and Sergei Sevrjuk. *Laos*. Moscow: Planeta Publishers. * A photographic collection which includes ones both of 'traditional' Laos and of the Laos created by the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, 1985;
- Robertson, Mary Lou. *Traditional and Acculturative Medical Practices among the Ethnic Lao: A Study in Rockford and Elgin Illinois*. Gaya, Bihar, India: Centre for South East Asian Studies, *The South East Asian Review*, 1985;
- Sarasin Viraphol. "Reflections on Thai-Lao Relations," *Asian Survey*, 1985;
- Gunn, Geoffrey. "Shamans and Rebels: The Batchai (MEO) Rebellion of Northern Laos and North-west Vietnam (1918-21)," *Journal of the Siam Society*, 1986;
- Lao People's Democratic Republic. Khana-anukammakn Som Paeng Phatht Luang/Sub-Committee for the Renovation of Phra That Luang. *Pawat phatht luang, Wiangchan, Patht Lo / The Short History of Phra That Luang*, Vientiane, Laos, 1986;
- Hartman, John F. "Varieties of Tai Dam Script," *Crossroads*, 1986;
- Penth, Hans. "Thai Scripts: An Outline of Their Origin and Development," in Yunnan. Princess Galyani Vadhana, comp. Bangkok: Wathanphnit, 1986;
- Dommen, Arthur J. "Laos in 1985: The Year of the Census," *Asian Survey*, 1986;
- Smalley, William A. "Stages of Hmong Cultural Adapataion," in *The Hmong in Transition*. Glenn L. Hendricks, Bruce T. Downing, Amos S. Deinard, eds. Staten Island, New York: Center for Migration Studies and the Southeast Asian Refugee Studies of the University of Minnesota, 1986;
- Lemoine, Jacques. "Shamanism in the Context of Hmong Resesettlement," in *The Hmong in Transition*. Glenn L. Hendricks, Bruce T. Downing, Amos S. Deinard, eds. Staten Island, New York: Center for Migration Studies and the Southeast Asian Refugee Studies of the University of Minnesota, 1986;
- Chanda, Nayan. *Brother Enemy: The War after the War*. New York: Macmillan, Collier Books, 1986;
- Evans, Grant. *From Moral Economy to Remembered Village*. Clayton, Victoria: Monash University, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Working Papers, 1986;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "Politics and Patronage in Laos," *Indochina Times*, 1986;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. *Laos: Politics, Economics and Society*. London: Frances Pinter and Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rinner (Marxist Regimes Series), 1986;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "Laos in 1985: Time to Take Stock," in *Southeast Asia Affairs 1986*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1986;
- J Van Esterik, Penny. "Cutting Up Culture: Colonizing Costume," in *The Transformative Power of Cloth in Southeast Asia*, Lynne Milgram and Penny Van Esterik, eds. Toronto: The Museum for Textiles and the Canadian Council for Southeast Asian Studies. [1994] van Wuysthoff, G. *Le journal de voyage de G. van Wuysthoff et de ses assistants au Laos (1641-1642)*. PrJsentation, traduction, commentaires, notes et index par Jean-Claude LeJosne. Paris: Cercle de Culture et de Recherches Laotiennes, 1986;
- Agacinski, Ngampit. "Tai Lue Scripts: The Old and New," *Crossroads*, 1986;
- Tapp, Nicholas. "Buddhism and the Hmong: A Case Study in Social Adjustment," *Journal of Developing Societies*, 1986;
- Turley, William S. *The Second Indochina War: A Short Political and Military History, 1954-1975*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1986;
- Lee, Gary Y. "Ethnic Minorities and National Building in Laos: The Hmong in the Lao State," *Peninsule*, 1986;
- Mayoury Ngaosyvathn and Pheuiphanh Ngaosyvathn. "World Super Power and Regional Conflicts: The Triangulaire [sic] Game of Great Britain with Bangkok and the Lao during the Embassies of John Crawford (1821-1822) and of Henry Burney (1825-1826)," Paper prepared for the International Conference of Thai Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, 3-6 July, 1987, 1987;
- Cohen, Erik. "Thailand, Burma and Laos--An Outline of the Comparative Social Dynamics of Three Theravada Buddhist Societies in the Modern Era," *Patterns of Modernity*. Volume II: Beyond the West. S. N. Eisenstadt, ed. London: Frances Pinter, 1987;
- William W. Sage; Judith A. N. Henchy. *Laos: A Bibliography*. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. 1987;
- O'Connor, Richard A. "Cultural Notes on Trade and the Tai," Paper prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Boston, April, 1987;
- Ng Shui Meng. "Laos in 1986: Into the Second Decade of National Reconstruction," in *Southeast Asia Affairs 1987*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1987;

- Mayoury Ngaosyvathn and Pheuipanh Ngaosyvathn. "Lao Chronicles and Annals on Siam and the Lao," Paper prepared for the International Conference of Thai Studies, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia, 3-6 July, 1987, 1987;
- Joiner, Charles A. "Laos in 1986: Administrative and International Partially Adaptive Communism," Asian Survey, 1987;
- Outhine Bounyavong (Uthin Bunyawong), et al. (1978). Pawat yaowacon (Greedy Catfish: Short Stories for Young People). Vientiane: S.Ph. Lao P.D.R. and as written by Duang Camp. They have been translated into Thai in Santisuk (1987);
- Santisuk Shanasiri, tr. Ruam rangsan yaowachon Lao yukmai (Collected Short Stories for Lao Young People of a New Age). Bangkok: Munnithi Sathian Koset-Nakhaprathip, Khrongkan plae wannakam phan ban (Translation of Neighbors Project), 1987;
- Mayoury Ngaosyvathn and Pheuipanh Ngaosyvathn. Chao Anu, 1767-1829, The Lao People and Southeast Asia [Old Story, New Meaning]. Vientiane, 1988;
- N. B. Hannah, The Key to Failure: Laos and the Vietnam War (1988).
- Evans, Grant. Agrarian Change in Communist Laos. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Occasional Paper No. 85, 1988;
- Evans, Grant. 1990. Lao Peasants Under Socialism. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988;
- Gunn, Geoffrey C. "Sambran (The White Python): The Kha (Lao Theung) Revolt of 1936-39," Sojourn, 1988;
- Gunn, Geoffrey. "Laos in 1987: Socialist Dependence and Underdevelopment," in Southeast Asia Affairs 1988. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988;
- Gunn, Geoffrey. Political Struggles in Laos (1930-1954): Vietnamese Communist Power and the Lao Struggle for National Independence. Bangkok: Editions Duang Kamol, 1988;
- Gunn, Geoffrey C. "Laos in 1987: Socialist Dependence and Underdevelopment," Southeast Asian Affairs, 1988, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1988;
- Snit Smuckarn and Kennon Breazeale. A Culture in Search of Survival: The Phuan of Thailand and Laos. New Haven: Yale University Southeast Asia Studies, Monograph Series 31. * This book, written by an historian and an anthropologist who is himself of Phuan descent, combines a history of the Phuan or Lao Phuan, with an ethnographic study of a Phuan village near Lopburi, in Central Thailand. Phuan originally inhabited the Chiang Khwang (Xieng Khouang) area of Laos. During the 19th century, the Siamese government sought to control these people both by resettling many of them in Thailand and by extending, through conquest, control over their homeland. The descendants of some who were resettled in central Thailand continue to retain a distinctive identity in contemporary Thailand, 1988;
- Quincy, Keith. Hmong: History of a People. Cheney, Washington: Eastern Washington University Press, 1988;
- Sams, Bert F. "Black Tai and Lao Song Dam: The Divergence of Ethnocultural Identities," Journal of the Siam Society, 1988;
- Suphot Dantrak. Lao-Thai: Khwampen chao khao khmg (Lao-Thai: Who Has Become the Possessors). Bangkok: Khlet Thai. 2531. * Concerns Thai-Lao relations during the border conflicts of the late 1980s. 1988;
- Maha Sila Viravong, (Sila Wilawong, Maha). Phongsawadan Lao (Lao Chronicles). Sommai Premcit, trans. (from Lao to Thai), 1989;
- Saveng Phinith. "La frontiPre entre le Laos et le ViLtnam (des origines B l'instauration du protectorat franHais) vue B travers les manuscrits lao," Les frontiPres du Vietnam: Historie des frontiPres de la peninsule indochinoise. P. B. Lafont, ed. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 1989;
- Tapp, Nicholas. "The Impact of Missionary Christianity Upon Marginalized Ethnic Minorities: The Case of the Hmong," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989;
- Gunn, Geoffrey. "Approaches to Tai-Lao Studies," Review (Fernand Braudel Center), 1989;
- Mayoury Ngaosyvathn and Pheuipanh Ngaosyvathn. "Lao Historiography and Historians: Case Study of the War Between Bangkok and the Lao in 1827," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989;
- Blanchard, Michel. Cambodge, Laos, Vietnam. Paris: Les Editions Arthaud, 1989;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "Laos in 1988: In Pursuit of New Directions," Asian Survey, 1989;
- O'Connor, Richard A. "Cultural Notes on Trade and the Tai," in Ritual, Power, and Economy: Upland-Lowland Contrasts in Mainland Southeast Asia. Russell, Susan D., ed. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University, Center for For Southeast Asian Studies, Monograph Series on Southeast Asia, Occasional Paper, 1989;
- Proschan, Frank. "Kmhmu Verbal Art in America: The Poetics of Kmhmu Verse," PhD. Dissertation, University of Texas, 1989;
- Rosell, Anna-Brita, comp. A Guide to the Wats of Vientiane. Vientiane: The Australian Ambassador to the Lao P.D.R., 1989;
- Hiebert, Murray. "Look, We're Buddhist," Far Eastern Economic Review, 3 August, 1989Lafont, P.-B. "Laos," South-East Asia Languages and Literatures: A Select Guide. Patricia Herbert and Anthony Milner, eds. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press for the South-East Asia Library Groups, 1989;
- Mayoury Ngaosyvathn and Pheuipanh Ngaosyvathn. "Mapping the Southeast Asian Heartland: Western Ancient Charts and Writings about the Lao People," Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, Washington, D.C., March, 1989
- Gay, Bernard. "Le frontiPre vietnamo-lao de 1893 B nos jours," Les frontiPres du Vietnam: Historie des frontiPres de la peninsule indochinoise. P. B. Lafont, ed. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 1989;
- Ireson, W. Randall, and Carol J. Ireson. "Laos: Marxism in a Subsistence Rural Economy," Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 1989;
- Worner, William. "Economic Reform and Structural Change in Laos," in Southeast Asia Affairs 1989. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1989;
- Lao People's Democratic Republic, Government, Country Presentation for Second United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries. Paris: United Nations, 1990;
- Lefferts, H. Leedom, Jr. "The Culture of Boxes: Information Flow and Social Organization among the Northeast Thai and Lao," Crossroads, 1990;
- Mayoury Ngaosyvathn. "Individual Soul, National Identity: The Baci-Sou Khuan of the Lao," Soujourn, 1990;
- Gunn, Geoffrey C. "Laos in 1989: Quiet Revolution in the Marketplace," Asian Survey, 1990;
- Perry Stieglitz. In a Little Kingdom: The Tragedy of Laos, 1960-1980. M. E. Sharpe. 1990;
- Ng, Shui Meng. "Laos: Taking the Pragmatic Road," in Southeast Asia Affairs 1990. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990;

- Evans, Grant, and Kelvin Rowley, *Red Brotherhood at War: Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos since 1975*. London: Verso, 1990;
- Evans, Grant. "Millennial Rebels in Colonial Laos," *Peasant Studies*, 1990;
- Vickery, Michael. Review of Chou Anou 1767 pasason lao lae asie akhane [Chao Anou, 1767-1829, the Lao People and Southeast Asia], by Mayoury and Pheuiphanh Ngaosyvathn," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 1990;
- Pheuiphanh Ngaosyvathn. "Lao-Thai Trade: An Aggiornamento through Trial-and-Error," in *Southeast Asia Affairs* 1990. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990;
- Pheuiphanh Ngaosyvathn. "Lao-Thai Trade: An Aggiornamento through Trial-and-Error," *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 1990, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1990;
- Stieglitz, Perry. In *A Little Kingdom*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe. * This autobiographical account by a retired Foreign Service officer combines diplomatic history, a cultural travelogue, a diary, and a love story. The "little kingdom" is Laos, and the story illuminates the tragic history of that country during the 1960s and 1970s. ... The author, who started his career as a Fulbright teacher in Vientiane, became a Foreign Service officer, cultural attaché, and aid to Averill Harriman. He worked closely with Prince Souvanna Phouma and fell in love with the Prince's daughter, Moune, whom he married. The narrative ends with the Communist Pathet Lao taking over Laos, Souvanna fatally stricken with heart disease, and Stieglitz saying farewell to his dying father-in-law in the communist capital of Vientiane. 1990;
- Smalley, William A., Chia Koua Vang, and Gnia Yee Yang. *Mother of Writing: The Origin and Development of a Hmong Messianic Script*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1990;
- Tajima Chinji. *Tamnan dao palat (Tale of the Strange Star)*. Outhine Bounyavong (Uthin Bunyawong), tr. Vientiane: Kom Vannakhad (Japanese Short Story which won the highest national prize). It was translated from English version and adapted for Lao tastes. Uncertain about trans. of Japanese name, 1990;
- Sesser, Stan. "Forgotten Country," *The New Yorker*, August 20, 1990;
- Ntawm, Los, Chia Koua Vang, Gnia Yee Yang, William A. Smalley. *The Life of Shong Lue Yang: Hmong "Mother of Writing"*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, Southeast Asian Refugee Studies, Occasional Papers, Number Nine, 1990;
- Lafont, Pierre-Bernard. "Transformations politique et Jvolution du bouddhisme au Lao depuis 1960," *Bouddhismes et sociJtJs asiatiques: clergJs, sociJtJs et pouvoir*. Alain Forest, Eiichi Kato, and LJon Vandermeersch, eds. Paris: Editions l'Harmattan (published with the support of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and the Institute of Asian Cultures of Sophia University), 1990;
- International Children's Learning Centre, Vientiane, Lao P.D.R. "How to Call Us and Our Friends" 1990-91. Vientiane, 1990;
- Gillogly, Terd Charoenwatana, Keith Fahrney, Opart Panya, Suthian Namwongs, A. Terry Rambo, Kanok Rerkasem, and Suriya Smutkupt, eds. *Two Upland Agroecosystems in Luang Prabang Province, Lao PDR: A Preliminary Analysis*, 1990;
- Rajah, Ananda. "Orientalism, Commensurability, and the Construction of Identity: A Comment on the Notion of Lao Identity," *Sojourn*, 1990;
- Samuelsson, Rolf, Kristina Lindell, Elisabet Lind. *Laos and Her Culture*. Stockholm: SIDA, Education Division, Section of Culture and Communication, 1990;
- Chan Kwok Bun. "Getting Through Suffering: Indochinese Refugees in Limbo 15 Years Later," *Southeast Asian Journal of Social Sciences*, 1990;
- Lambertson, David Floyd. "US-Lao Relations, 1988," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Huxley, Andrew. "The Draft Constitution of the Laotian People's Democratic Republic," *Review of Socialist Law*, 1991;
- Strong, John S. *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta: Sanskrit Buddhism in North India and Southeast Asia*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "Foreign Policy of the Lao People's Democratic Republic," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Ireson, Carol J., and Randall Ireson. "Ethnicity and Development in Laos," *Asian Survey*, 1991;
- Tanabe, Shigeharu, ed. *Religious Traditions among Tai Ethnic Groups: A Selected Bibliography*. Bangkok: Ayutthaya Historical Study Centre, 1991;
- Godly, G. McMurtie, and Jinny St. Goar. "The Chinese Road in Northwest Laos, 1961-73," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Batson, Wendy. "After the Revolution: Ethnic Minorities and the New Lao State," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Allen, Douglas, and Ngo Vinh Long. *Coming to Terms: Indochina, the United States and the War*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview. 1991;
- Macpherson, Neill, and Laurence Brahm. *Investment in the Lao Peoples Democratic Republic*. Hong Kong: Longman Group Ltd, 1991;
- Evans, Grant. "Reform or Revolution in Heaven? Funerals among Upland Tai," *The Anthropological Journal of Australia*, 1991;
- Evans, Grant. "Planning Problems in Peripheral Socialism: The Case of Laos," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Outhine Bounyavong (Uthin Bunyawong). *Phaeng Mae (Dear Mother)*. Vientiane: Kom Vannakhadi, 1991;
- Dommen, Arthur J. "Lao Nationalism and American Policy, 1954-9," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Parkin, Robert. *A Guide ot Austroasiatic Speakers and Their Languages*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication, No. 23, 1991;
- Ng Shui Meng. "Social Development in the Lao People's Democratic REpublic: Problems and Prospects," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Nguyen Manh Hung, Neil L. Jamieson, and A. Terry Rambo, *Environment, Natural Resources, and the Future Development of Laos and Vietnam: Papers from a Seminar*. Fairfax, VA: George Mason University, The Indochina Institute, eds. 1991;
- Cordell, Helen, ed. *Laos. ABC-CLIO*, 1991;

- Unger, Leonard. "The United States and Laos, 1962-65," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- United Nations Development Program. "The Economy of Laos: An Overview," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- United States. Bureau of International Narcotics Matters, Department of State. "State Department Report to Congress on Narcotics: Laos, 1988," Appendix B in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- United States. Department of State. "State Department Report [Dated May 1, 1988] to Congress Regarding Narcotics, Sepcial Report: Laos," Appendix A in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- United States. Department of State. "Human Rights in Laos, 1988: Report to US Congress Prepared by Department of State," Appendix C in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Funck, Bernard. "Laos: Decentralization and Economic Control," Paper presented for the Indochina Seminar Series, Harvard Institute for International Development, October, 1991;
- Norlund, Irene. *Libraries and Research Institutions: Restoration, Conservation and Training Needs 1991*. Copenhagen, Denmark : Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, 1991;
- Zasloff, Joseph J. "Political Constraints on Development in Laos," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Zasloff, Joseph J. "Laos 1990: Socialism Postponed by Leadership Intact," in *Southeast Asian Affairs 1991*. Singapore; Institute of Southeast Asian Affairs, 1991;
- Zasloff, Joseph J., and MacAlister Brown. "Laos 1990: Socialism Postponed but Leadership Intact," in *Southeast Asia Affairs 1991*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1991;
- Zasloff, Joseph, and Leonard Unger, ed. *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Women's International Group, Vientiane. *Vientiane Guide 1991*. Vientiane. 1991;
- Pradap Pibulsonggram. "Comment on the LPDR Statement," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Saly Khamsy. ""Relations Between Laos and Thailand, 1988," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press. Pp. 209-213. * At time of writing this, Saly Kahmsy was the Lao ambassador in Bangkok, 1991;
- Samakhom Nakpaphan Lao (The Writers' Association of Laos). *Siang khaen Lao (Siang khaen Lao Magazine)*. Vientiane. * Vol. 1, No. 1, 1991;
- Robinson, Daniel, and Joe Cummings. *Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia: A Travel Survival Kit*. Hawthorn, Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 1991;
- Robinson, W. Courtland. "Laotian Refugees in Thailand: The Thai and US Response, 1975-1988," in *Laos: Beyond the Revolution*. Joseph Zasloff and Leonard Unger, ed. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991;
- Proschan, Frank. "Poetic Parallelism in Kmhmu Verbal Arts: From Texts to Performances," *Text, Context and Performance in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam*. Amy R. Catlin, ed. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, Selected Reports, IX, 1992;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. *Historical Dictionary of Laos*. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1992;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "Laos 1991: On the Defensive," *Southeast Asian Affairs*, 1992, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1992;
- Bond, Katherine, and Kingsavanh Pathammavong. "Contexts of Dontri Lao Deum: Traditional Lao Music," *Text, Context and Performance in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam*. Amy R. Catlin, ed. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, 1992;
- Houmphanh Rattanavong. "The Lamluang: A Popular Lao Entertainment," *Text, Context and Performance in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam*. Amy R. Catlin, ed. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, Selected Reports, IX, 1992;
- Shiraishi, Takashi, and Motoo Furuta. *Indochina in the 1940s and 1950s*. Ithaca: Cornell Southeast Asia Program, Translation Series, 2. Eds. 1992;
- Sluiter, Liesbeth. *The Mekong Currency*. Bangkok: Project for Ecological Recovery, 1992;
- Tannenbaum, Nicola. "Households and Villages: The Political-Ritual Structures of Tai Communities," *Ethnology*, 1992;
- Hein, Don, Mike Barbetti, and Thongsa Sayavongkhamdy. *An Excavation at the Sisattanak Kiln Site, Vientiane, Lao P.D.R., 1989*. Sydney: University of Sydney, Research Institute for Asia and the Pacific, 1992;
- Houmphanh Rattanavong. "Music and Instruments in Laos: Historical Antecedents and the Democratic Revolution," *Text, Context and Performance in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam*. Amy R. Catlin, ed. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, Selected Reports, IX, 1992;
- HD kang Drd, Agneta. *Road 13: A Socio-Economic Study of Villages, Transport and Use of Road 13 S, Lao P.D.R.* Stockholm: Department of Social Anthropology, Stockholm University, Development Studies Unit Report, No. 23, 1992;
- Purnell, Herbert C. "Lexical Tone and Musical Pitch in an Iu Mien Yao Wedding Song," *Text, Context and Performance in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam*. Amy R. Catlin, ed. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles, Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, Selected Reports, IX.1992;
- Gittinger, Mattiebelle, and H. Leedom Lefforts, Jr. *Textiles and the Tai Experience in Southeast Asia*. Washington, D.C, 1992;
- Bourdet, Yves. "Reforming Laos' Economic System," *Economic Systems (Sweden)*, 1992;
- Mayoury Ngaosyvathn. *On the Edge of the Pagoda: Lao Women in Buddhism*. Toronto: York University, Thai Studies Project, Working Papers, 1992;
- Rakow, Meg. *Women in Lao Morality Tales*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Southeast Asian Paper, No. 35, 1992;
- Saraswat Suksawat, M.L. *Chak Luang Prabang thng Wiangchan (From Luang Prabang to Vientiane)*. Bangkok: S.Ph. Mang, 1992;

- Rakow, Meg Regina. *Laos and Laotians*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, School of Hawaiian, Asian and Pacific Studies, 1992;
- Keyes, Charles F. "Who Are the Lue Revisited? Ethnic Identity in Laos, Thailand, and China," Cambridge, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Center for International Studies, Working Paper, 1992;
- Johnson, Stephen T. "Laos in 1991: Year of the Constitution," *Asian Survey*, 1992;
- Johnson, Stephen T. "Laos in 1992: Succession and Consolidation," *Asian Survey*, 1993;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin and Kooyman, Mary. *Historical Dictionary of Laos*. Scarecrow, 1992; Long, Lynellyn D. *Ban Vinai: The Refugee Camp*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993;
- Somboon Suksumran. *Buddhism and Political Legitimacy*. Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University Printing House, 1993;
- Hamilton-Merritt, Jane. *Tragic Mountains: The Hmong, the Americans, and the Secret Wars for Laos, 1942-1992*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993 (An unscholarly and polemical history of the Hmong in post-colonial Laos that takes the point of view of Vang Pao, the Lao Hmong leader who was backed by the CIA), 1993;
- Ljunggren, B`rje. "Concluding Remarks: Key Issues in the Reform Process," *The Challenge of Reform in Indochina*. B`rje Ljunggren, ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Harvard Institute for International Development, 1993;
- Perkins, Dwight H. "Reforming the Economic Systems of Vietnam and Laos," *The Challenge of Reform in Indochina*. B`rje Ljunggren, ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Harvard Institute for International Development, 1993;
- Trankell, Ing-Britt. *On the Road in Laos: An Anthropological Study of Road Construction and Rural Communities*. Uppsala: Uppsala University, Department of Cultural Anthropology, Uppsala Research Reports in Cultural Anthropology, No. 12, 1993;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "On the Writing of Lao History: Continuities and Discontinuities," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 1993;
- Sesser, Stan. "Laos: The Forgotten Country," *The Lands of Charm and Cruelty: Travels in Southeast Asia*, by Stan Sesser. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1993;
- Castle, Timothy. *At War in the Shadow of Vietnam: United States Military Aid to the Royal Lao Government, 1955-75*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993;
- Ng Shui Meng. "Laos 1992: At the Crossroads," in *Southeast Asia Affairs 1992*. Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1993;
- Chanda, Nayan. "Indochina beyond the Cold War: the Chill from Eastern Europe," *The Challenge of Reform in Indochina*. B`rje Ljunggren, ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Harvard Institute for International Development, 1993;
- Evans, Grant. "Buddhism and Economic Action in Socialist Laos," in *Socialism: Ideals, Ideologies, and Local Practice*. C.M. Hann, ed. London and New York: Routledge, 1993;
- Mayoury Ngaosyvathn. *Remembrances of a Lao Woman Devoted to Constructing a Nation: Khampheng Bouppha*. Vientiane: Lao Women's Union, 1993;
- Funck, Bernard. "Laos: Decentralization and Economic Control," *The Challenge of Reform in Indochina*. B`rje Ljunggren, ed. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for Harvard Institute for International Development, 1993;
- Castle, Timothy N. *At War in the Shadow of Vietnam: U.S. Military Aid to the Royal Lao Government, 1955-1975*. Columbia U. Press, 1993;
- Yang Dao. *Hmong at the Turning Point*. Minneapolis: WorldBridge Associates, 1993;
- Hamilton-Merritt, Jane. *Tragic Mountains: The Hmong, the Americans, and the Secret Wars for Laos, 1942-1992*. Indiana U. Press, 1993;
- Washburn, Dorothy K., and Andrea Petitto. "An Ethnoarchaeological Perspective on Textile Categories of Identification and Function," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 12:150-72. * Based on research among Lao refugee women from Pakse and Savannakhet, 1993;
- Chan, Sucheng, ed. *Hmong Means Free: Life in Laos and America*. Temple U. Press, 1994;
- PichJ, Normand. *Laos: Bibliographie en sciences sociales / A Bibliogrpahy in Social Sciences*. QuJbec: UniversitJ Laval, Groupe d'itudes et de Recherches sur l'Asie Contemporaine, Documents du GJrac, 1994;
- Prachan Rakpong (Prachan Rakphong). "Lue nai Lao" (Lue in Laos), Chiang Mai: Paper presented at a seminar on Watthanatham Thai L kap kanprapprung nai kras~' khng kanplianpla'ng ("Tai Lue Culture and Adaptation in the Current of Change"), Chiang Mai University, 16-17 September, 1994;
- Radetzki, Marcus. "From Communism to Capitalism in Laos: The Legal Dimension," *Asian Survey*, 1994;
- Somphavan Inthavong. *Notes on Lao history*. Vientiane, Lao P.D.R. : Pakpasack Press, 1994;
- Conboy, Kenneth. *Shadow War: The CIA's Secret War in Laos*. Paladin Press, 1995;
- Mayoury Ngaosyvathn. "Buddhism, Merit Making and Gender: The Competition for Salvation in Laos," 'Male' and 'Female' in Developing Southeast Asia. Wazir Jahan Karim, ed. Oxford and Washington, D.C.: Berg Publishers, 1995;
- Søren Ivarsson; Thommy Svensson; Stein Tonnesson. *The Quest for Balance in a Changing Laos: A Political Analysis*. Nordic Institute of Asian Studies. 1995;
- Sanday, John. 'Preserving The Past: Preah Khan Conservation project.' *Asia-Pacific Sculpture News* 1:3 Summer 1995;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "The French in Laos, 1887-1945," *Modern Asian Studies*, 1995;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "Laos: Towards Subregional Integration," in *Southeast Asian Affairs 1995*. Singapore: Institute for Southeast Asian Studies, 1995;
- Bassenne, Marthe. *In Laos and Siam*. Walter E.J. Tips, trans. Bangkok: White Lotus. Thailand, 1995;
- Savoda, Andrea Matles, ed. *1995 Laos, a Country Study*. 3rd ed. Washington, D.C. : The Division: Headquarters, Dept. of the Army ; the Supt. of Docs. 1995;
- Saleminck, Oscar. "Primitive Partisans: French Strategy and the Construction of a Montagnard Ethnic Identity in Indochina," in *Imperial Policy and Southeast Asian Nationalism, 1930-1957*, ed. by Hans Antl`v and Stein Trnnesson. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1995;
- Keyes, Charles F. "Who Are the Tai? Reflections on the Invention of Identities," in *Ethnic Identity: Creation Conflict, and Accommodation*. Lola Romanucci-Ross and George A. De Vos, eds. Third Edition. Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press, 1995;
- Ireson, W. Randall. "Hmong Demographic Change in Laos: Causes and Ecological Consequence," *Sojourn*, 1995;
- Dommen, Arthur J. "Documentary Materials in the American Archives for the History of the Kingdom of Laos, 1941-62" *South East Asia Research*, 1995;

- Walker, Andrew. "Trade and Transport in North-Western Laos," Thai-Yunnan Project Newsletter, 1995;
- Warner, Roger. *Back Fire: The CIA's Secret War in Laos and Its Link to the War in Vietnam*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995;
- Quincy, Keith. *Hmong, History of a People*. Eastern Washington U. Press, 2nd ed. 1995;
- Stuart-Fox, Martin. "The French in Laos, 1887-1945." *Modern Asian Studies* 1995;
- Ireson, W. Randall. "Invisible Walls: Village Identity and the Maintenance of Cooperation in Laos," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 1996;
- Boudet, Yves "Laos in 1995: Reform Policy, Out of Breath," *Asian Survey*, 1996;
- Ireson, Carol. *Field, Forest, and Family: Women's Work and Power in Rural Laos*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1996;
- Walker, Anthony. Review of *Ban Vinai: The Refugee Camp*, by Lynellyn D. Long," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 27.2:438-40. * A rather favorable review of the book, 1996;
- Walker, Anthony. Review of *Tragic Mountains: The Hmong, the Americans, and the Secret Wars for Laos*, by Jane Hamilton-Merritt," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, 1996;
- Proschan, Frank. n.d. "Chueang in Kmhmu Folklore, History, and Memory," papere preapred for conference on "Thao Hung or Cheuang," Bangkok: Thai Khadi Institute, 1996;
- Proschan, Frank. "Rumor, Innuendo, Propaganda and Disinformation" -- Review Essay of *Tragic Mountaints: The Hmong, the Americans and the Secret Wars for Laos, 1942-92* by Jane Hamilton-Merritt, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, 1996;
- Proschan, Frank. "'We Are All Kmhmu, Just the Same': Ethnonyms, Ethnic Identities, and Ethnic Groups," *American Ethnologist*, 1997;
- Christopher Kremmer. *Stalking the Elephant Kings: In Search of Laos*. University of Hawaii Press. 1997;
- Bourdet, Yves "Laos in 1996: Please Don't Rush!" *Asian Survey*, 1997;
- James E. Parker, Jr.. *Covert Ops: The CIA's Secret War in Laos*. Macmillan. 1997;
- Panivong Norindr. *Phantasmatic Indochina: French Colonial Ideology in Architecture, Film, and Literature*. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1997;
- Cooke, Anna Zeitlin, 'The weavings of war: textiles from Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand', *Art AsiaPacific*, no.18, 1998;
- Walker, Andrew. *The Legend of the Golden Boat: Regulation, Trade and Traders in the Borderlands of Laos, Thailand, China and Burma*. Curzon, 1999;
- Eliades, George Christopher, II. "United States Decision-Making in Laos, 1942-1962." PhD dissertation Harvard U. 433 pp. DAI 2000 60(7): 2645-A. DA9935773 Fulltext: in ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 1999;
- Evans, Grant, ed. *Laos: Culture and Society*. Singapore: Inst. of Southeast Asian Studies, 2000;
- Dommen, Arthur J. *The Indochinese Experience of the French and the Americans: Nationalism and Communism in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam*. Indiana U. Press, 2002;
- Freedman, Lawrence. *Kennedy's Wars: Berlin, Cuba, Laos, and Vietnam*. Oxford U. Press, 2002;
- **Le Royaume du Laos 1949-1965**, Juillet 2003;
- Yukio Hayashi. *Practical Buddhism Among the Thai-Lao: Religion in the Making of a Region*. Trans Pacific Press.2003;
- Zhang, Xiaoming. "China's Involvement in Laos During the Vietnam War, 1963-1975." *Journal of Military History* 2002;
- Tanabe, Shigeharu and Keyes, Charles F., eds. *Cultural Crisis and Social Memory: Modernity and Identity in Thailand and Laos*. U. of Hawai'i Press, 2002;
- Yang, Kou. "Hmong Diaspora of the Post-war Period." *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 2003;
- Kochavi, Noam. "Limited Accommodation Perpetuated Conflict: Kennedy, China, and the Laos Crisis, 1961-1963." *Diplomatic History* 2002 26 (1): 95-135. Issn: 0145-2096 Fulltext: in EbscoNgaosrivathana, Mayoury and Breazeale, Kenneth, ed. *Breaking New Ground in Lao History: Essays on the Seventh to Twentieth Centuries*. Chiang Mai, Thailand: Silkworm, 2003;
- Pholsena, Vatthana. "The Changing Historiographies of Laos: a Focus on the Early Period." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 2004;
- Vatthana Pholsena. *Post-War Laos: The Politics of Culture, History, and Identity*. Cornell University Press. 2006;
- Boike Rehbein. *Globalization, Culture and Society in Laos*. Routledge. 2007;
- Justin Thomas McDaniel. *Gathering Leaves and Lifting Words: Histories of Buddhist Monastic Education in Laos and Thailand*. University of Washington Press. 2008;
